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FIFTEEN CENTS

April 16, 1940

NEW MASSES

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A First Hand Account

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by Adam Lapin

J'Accuse: 1940

Communist Deputy Fajon Tells His Story

GROPPER, GARDNER REA, RICHTER, SORIANO, AND AJAY

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WE HAVE no alternative. We can only set the question before you and you will decide. We do not know how we can go on bringing out the magazine. The period of the annual drive is the period we pay up back debts. If the drive goes well we square accounts with creditors, accounts that have accumulated over the past year. If the drive does not—then we face suspension. We hate to say that, we have desperately avoided having to say that, but today we must.

The fate of NEW MASSES is in your hands.

We are in the tenth week of our annual drive for $25,000. That is the amount we need to pay off our most pressing debts, to wipe the slate clean so we can go ahead for another year. That $25,000 is our yearly deficit. We cut that deficit down by $5,000 this last year. But we must have $25,000 to survive. To date, after two months, we have received $10,422. At the rate at which this drive has been going we will not get the minimum; we cannot therefore repay debts that creditors let slide until today. Today they demand their payments, and we cannot meet them. Fortunately this week we will pull through on the proceeds of our art auction.

You have loyally supported your magazine through six years of its stormy existence. This year you showed your endorsement of our viewpoint—or of the right to our viewpoint even if you do not endorse it—by the support you have given us under political, as well as financial, fire. That is, eighteen hundred of you have. But there are many times eighteen hundred who read our magazine through a year, who would be heartbroken if NEW MASSES were to cease operations, were to shut down before its job is done.

This appeal is not so much to the eighteen hundred of you who

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have dug down deep and helped. This is to those of you who have not. We know only too well how it is; wages are going down and the cost of living is going up. And you have given generously to many other causes. We know you are poor people. But this is a poor man's magazine. It has no capital; it is not a profit-making enterprise. Few businessmen will give us ads because of our viewpoint; ads constitute the bulk of income of the commercial magazines. We have cut expenses, our staff is smaller than it ever was before, we have skipped paydays to bring the magazine out. We have done everything that can be done.

Today we must turn finally to you and ask: Do you want to see NEW MASSES die? It is that blunt. It is that critical.

We believe wholeheartedly that you will not let the magazine die if you realize the facts.

Now you have the facts; we cannot say anything more. The fate of the magazine is in your hands.

The Editors

NEW MASSES, 461 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK CITY
Enclosed is my contribution toward NEW MASSES' next issues and toward the magazine's continued existence.

Name .....

Address .....

.....

Amount .....

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Between Ourselves

NM MADE a thousand dollars over last weekend and perhaps a little more!

How? It all came from our Bill of Rights Art Auction at the ACA Galleries in New York.

High point of the auction came with the sale of Earl Robinson's and John LaTouche's *Ballad for Americans*. Mordecai Bauman, noted baritone, mounted the platform and in song auctioned off the manuscript for a goodly price. There were cheers galore both for Bauman's performance and the authors' generosity in contributing their work.

For a while it seemed that the whole of New York turned out for the auction. In the afternoon a line of visitors wound halfway around the block patiently waiting for a chance to get in. A rare opportunity to buy original art work at low prices brought the crowd to subway proportions.

The auctioneers were Helen Tamiris, Hugo Gellert, Edwin Berry Burgum, Philip Evergood, Harry Gottlieb, Maurice Becker, Minna Harkavy, Margaret Lowengrund, Harry Sternberg, and Robert Cronbach. Maurice Becker and Helen Tamiris together auctioned Becker's cartoon published twenty-three years ago in the *Masses* which brought the Wilson war administration down on the magazine and led to its suppression for "sedition." Tireless Cora MacAlbert chairmanned the afternoon session.

More than 250 artists contributed their original work to the auction; each gave freely of his best to help NM. There were paintings, etchings, lithographs, silk screen prints, sculpture—a huge representation of America's best art. Next week we will publish a complete list of the artists whose generosity made the auction possible.

This Sunday, April 14, Philadelphia will be host to the NM Bill of Rights Rally at Town Hall, 150 North Broad St. Ruth McKenney, William Blake, Bruce Minton, and Alvah Bessie are the speakers, with Norris Wood of the Philadelphia People's Forum presiding.

From members of Typographical Union No. 6 in the Isaac Goldmann Co., which prints NM, we have received a contribution of $5 to the magazine's Fund Drive. A generous deed, considering all the headaches we give the boys on press day.

We have just finished reading Myra Page's May Day pamphlet, *It Happened on May First*. Our opinion that it is a first rate job is endorsed by the trade unionists who have read it. Orders totaling 47,000 copies have already been received by the May Day Committee, 45 Astor Place, NYC. A thousand pamphlets cost $6.50.

We have received a series of charming sketch-and-verse reactions to NM from Seattle, accompanied by a note from J. C. W.: "I'm spending my fifth year in bed, my son his seventh hospitalized—arthritis, tb, respectively. We often exchange such as the enclosed for a little 'rise.' I write notes on the back of the cartoons (we privately call them). You are printing some very important matter these days—nothing to take its place. We lend our joint subscription—broadcast. Wish we could do more to help. Long may you live."

We have received a fine pat on the back from C. A. of Puerto Rico. He writes: "For all of us down here, NM is indispensable. . . . Your magazine, or perhaps I should say ours, is literally the only one among those still classed (by courtesy) as left that even sounds as if it knew what it was talking about. . . . I would like to send you a contribution, but financial conditions being what they are, it will have to wait. We are thinking of running a party to raise money for you." C. A. reminds us that Puerto Rico is still part of the US and that NM should from time to time run an article on the Island. That we promise to do almost immediately. C. A. also notes that in the Puerto Rican census, the controversial question of "how much do you earn?" has, as in past years, been omitted. "It has been suggested that the government is afraid of what the answers might show if collected. Available estimates have set the yearly wage of the *employed* agricultural workers at $100-$200 a year. And families here are a lot larger than in the states, with living costs not much cheaper. . . . A Puerto Rican friend of mine recently got a letter from a friend now in Spain. The letter was passed by the Franco censors, but was nonetheless informative. One passage ran 'every day is a holiday here, like Palm Sunday in Ponce.' Palm Sunday was the date of the brutal Ponce massacre here, in which police shot down some twenty unarmed workers."

The collector of customs and excises of the Union of South Africa very courteously tells us: "I have to inform you that the chief censor has decided that the undermentioned publication is objectionable:—NEW MASSES—All copies thereof in the consignment are therefore seized as forfeited. I have the honor to be, gentlemen, your obedient servant, Collector of Customs and Excise."

E. G. writes in from New Jersey that A. B. Magil's article, "Who's Afraid of Peace," in the April 9 issue of NM has changed his whole perspective on the war. "Now for the first time I see clearly why all Americans should favor peace. . . . Thank you NM for a fine article, and an exceptionally timely issue!"

We are again asking readers to hunt through closets, attics, storerooms for copies of the old *Masses*. Our files are still incomplete for the years 1911-32. Don't worry about the postage. We'll be glad to pay the cost of shipping.

Just as the printers were putting the magazine to bed, news came across the wires that war is engulfing two Scandinavian states. Readers are asked to turn to the editorial section for our zero hour comment. Next issue NM will feature a thoroughgoing analysis of the new crisis.

Who's Who

THEODORE DRAPER is a former foreign editor and foreign correspondent of NM. . . . Adam Lapin is NM and *Daily Worker* correspondent in Washington. . . . Milton Blau is a young member of the working class whose father is a taxi driver. This is his first published piece. . . . Paul G. McManus is former NM Washington correspondent and a free lance writer on politics and economics. . . . Joseph Starobin is an editorial assistant on NM, specializing in foreign affairs. . . . Eda Lou Walton is associate professor of English at New York University, the author of *Jane Matthews*, a volume of verse, and has contributed book reviews to the New York *Times* and *Herald Tribune* and the *Nation*. . . . Cora MacAlbert has written for NM before, as well as for the *New Republic*, *New Yorker*, and *Coronet*.

Flashbacks

MEMORANDUM on American reaction: On April 13, 1919, although the war was over, Eugene V. Debs, at the age of sixty-five and in poor health, was forced to begin serving the prison sentence imposed on him for his opposition to the war. . . . On the same day Kate Richards O'Hare began her five-year term at hard labor for the same "crime." . . . A year earlier, April 15, 1918, the first trial of the editors of the *Masses* opened. The charges grew out of anti-war statements in the distinguished predecessor of NM. . . . *And it was this week in 1865* (April 15 to be exact) that Abraham Lincoln died of gunshot wounds inflicted by the counterrevolutionary agent Wilkes Booth.

This Week

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NEW MASSES

VOLUME XXXV APRIL 16, 1940 NUMBER 4

Inside Germany

Hans Mueller escapes after a month in underground Naziland. Workingmen on the march. Hitler forced to rescind labor decrees. The handwriting on the wall.

Basel, Switzerland (by mail).

IN NAZI Germany today anti-capitalist feeling is as strong as anti-war feeling. The opposition to the Nazi regime continues. Although war has made underground work even more difficult and dangerous, the anti-Nazis have found ingenious ways of bringing their message to the German people. These are my conclusions after an exciting "fact-finding mission" which took me on a four weeks' trip through Germany. And if the Italian censorship does not interfere, this report will travel on the boat that carries Undersecretary of State Welles—the *Conte di Savoia.*

The station at Basel, where in the first days of February I boarded the train for Germany, is unique in the world. It has a section where Swiss laws are valid; a German section where the Gestapo reigns; and a French section where the Deuxieme Bureau and the Surete Nationale are in charge. You can still get a hearty meal in the restaurant on the Swiss side, but you will have to pay about 50 percent more than you used to before the war. If you cross the barrier separating Switzerland from France you will get no meat for three days in the week. On the other days you will be served a meal with but a single main dish. You will get only a few brands of cigarettes, and sometimes you might even have to go without coffee. And when you pass the Gestapo control, as I did, the first thing you are handed after your passport has been examined is a sheaf of tourist ration cards. Without them, I was told, I would be unable to get food in Germany. (Later I found out that I could get food without ration cards if I were willing to pay enormous bootleg prices.)

Then the train rolls along the Westwall for quite some time. The blinds are lowered to keep passengers from seeing the front. The mouths of passengers are shut because, as the poster in your compartment proclaims, "the enemy is listening in."

You will never discover whether this middle aged traveling salesman opposite you regards the British or the Gestapo as the enemy listening in. Nor will you know if the pretty girl next to the window, well dressed and well bred, is for or against the war. But as the train moves on and finally a conversation gets under way, you will immediately find yourself in the midst of the problem which worries the majority of the German people: Where can one still buy something one needs? That is the topic of conversations for hours on end. And since it is quite a trip from Basel to Berlin you have time to reflect on the absurdity of capitalism. Seven years ago Germany had seven million unemployed. They could not buy what they needed because they did not have the money. Now unemployment has almost disappeared, but they still cannot buy—there aren't enough goods. Meanwhile their comrades in France and England are reminded every day by speeches from Cabinet members that they eat too much, that they had better cut down expenditures and lend more to their governments.

In France and England this state of affairs where one is either unemployed or cannot buy enough even if employed, is called "Democracy," and the workers are exhorted to defend it. In Nazi Germany it is called "German Socialism" and glorified as one of the eternal achievements of the Fuehrer. As Hitler's newspaper, the *Voelkische Beobachter,* puts it: "The simplification in our habits of consumption contributes substantially to the inner unification of the people and to the complete elimination of class differences."

In reality this forced cut in consumption has strengthened class differences. When I talked to workers in Berlin, Munich, and Vienna, the most striking fact next to their hatred of the war was their anti-capitalist sentiment. For the third time since the first imperialist war Germany is being swept by a broad wave of sentiment against capitalism. In 1919 it was checked by the terror and social demagogy of the Social Democratic leaders who plastered all Germany with giant posters: "Socialism is on the march" and "Socialization is coming." The second powerful wave grew in the years 1929 to 1933. Then the ruling class of Germany hoisted Hitler to power to save their system. The Nazis utilized terror and social demagogy to establish their rule. Hitler forced German economy into feverish rearmament so that it was able to absorb millions of unemployed. During the first years of the Nazi regime the anti-capitalist sentiment of the German masses partially faded away—only to awaken again in 1937 and the following years, reaching great proportions shortly before the war. In August 1939 the Nazi paper from the Ruhr district, *Ruhrarbeiter,* received thousands of negative answers to the question: "Do we need bosses?" So strong was the hatred expressed in the workers' letters against the bosses that Dr. Goebbels instructed the press never to propound such dangerous questions again.

Mischa Richter

"This is the Freiheitssender."

A SPECTER HAUNTS THE NAZIS

Since the outbreak of the war two events in Germany have almost escaped the attention of foreign observers. Yet they were considered by the Nazis to be of the greatest significance. The first was the struggle which German labor successfully carried out from the early part of September 1939 to the end of November against the appalling labor decrees issued by Hitler in the first days of the war. By these decrees workers' wages were to be taxed an additional 15 percent, special payment for overtime was to be abolished, and the twelve hour day established. Under the influence of Communists and trade-unionists German labor began, very reluctantly at first, to fight against these decrees. By the beginning of October the first outbursts of public anger exploded in factory meetings organized by the Nazi-controlled German Labor Front. Nazi speakers were interrupted with shouts: "How about pay for overtime?"—"Why don't you ask Krupp to pay?"—"Longer working hours, less to show for them!" A slowdown in the tempo of work made itself felt in Germany's armament factories. By the end of October Dr. Ley, the leader of the Labor Front, was dispatched by Hitler on a speaking tour to the most important industrial centers. On his return he recommended the repeal of these decrees. The shadow of the famous January 1919 strike—which, by the way, was crushed

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with the help of Ebert and Noske, Social Democratic leaders of the Weimar republic —haunted the Nazi leaders. Hitler gave in. Under the pressure of German labor the hated decrees were rescinded.

Another shadow rose: that of the pig-slaughtering of 1916. As a protest against the lack of animal fodder and the forced control of agricultural produce, the German farmers in 1916 killed millions of swine. German food economy during the last war never recovered from this blow. By December 1939 reports came in from the Nazi agrarian organizations that the German farmers were beginning to slaughter cattle on a larger scale than that permitted by the regulations. Again this was a protest against the lack of fodder and against the Nazi-controlled organizations that pay the farmer low prices for his produce and then sell it at fat profits to the city. Darre, the minister of agriculture, tried in vain to stop this movement. The slaughtering ceased only after Goering brought the full weight of his authority to bear. In a recent broadcast he granted higher prices for milk and butter and other products. But this is only a temporary solution. The farmers are far from satisfied by Goering's concessions; and their first victory has given them confidence.

NAZI SOCIAL DEMAGOGY

Social demagogy rides high again in Nazi Germany. Dr. Ley has been put in charge of the campaign. While I was in Berlin he put forward in *Der Angriff*, the newspaper of the German Labor Front, the slogan: "Workers of all lands, unite to smash British and French capitalism!" I was able immediately afterward to gauge the effects of this campaign in conversations with many workers. I can say that Dr. Ley met with no success. As a worker of Siemens (one of Germany's largest factories), who has long been active in the underground movement, told me: "How can you make a worker believe that is socialism, when his wife bellyaches all the time that she can't get anything decent to cook!" As a Berlin metal worker put it: "What the hell kind of socialism is that! You get money and nothing to buy with it. I call that a provocation!" Dr. Ley got his answer in a Communist leaflet then circulated in Berlin: "Nice kind of 'socialism'! It puts to death or into concentration camps the bravest fighters for a real socialist world. It keeps Ernst Thaelmann in prison." Dr. Ley's and Dr. Goebbels' propagandists, touring the big plants, were angrily heckled with shouts: "Where does Goering get his fat?"—"No butter, no work!"—"Don't kid us, we know what your ration cards are like!" The day I left Germany I was shown a leaflet issued to the coal miners of the Ruhr. It read:

> They say "German socialism"—they mean the imperialist merchants of death. There is only one country in the world where socialism rules: the Soviet Union. There the workers and farmers have taken their fate into their own hands.

And a leaflet in Munich accused the Nazi Party bosses of using the "so-called German socialism as a pretext for them to get rich, to line their pockets with money, and to live on the fat of the land."

TERROR AGAINST THE CP

The Communist Party is leading a hard fight in the German factories and in the trenches against the imperialist war, its capitalist instigators and its Nazi watchdogs. I felt the increased Communist influence in the enhanced respect which Social Democratic and non-party workers have for the Communists. The Gestapo, realizing this, has intensified its terror. Many cases are reported weekly in the coordinated press of people condemned to death "for criminal activities during a blackout." Many of the "criminals" are heroic fighters against Nazism, who use the blackout to pass out leaflets or to paint slogans on the walls. The Communist Party has paid a heavy toll for its devotion to the cause of socialism. It lost more than two-thirds of its functionaries by assassination, execution, and imprisonment in concentration camps. By 1938 a network of Communist groups had been woven throughout the country. Mobilization and war ripped this network, but within a few months it was rewoven.

The reasons why Communist influence is stronger are many. First the Communist Party is the only one not compromised in Germany by collaboration with the Nazis or with their capitalist paymasters. Second, from the first day of the war the Communists in private discussions, in leaflets, in stickers explained the imperialist character of the war and urged the German people to oppose it. "Neither Hitler nor Chamberlain! The German people alone shall decide its own fate." Unknown, unseen hands would write on factory walls, slip leaflets into workers' clothes, and sometimes place them on their workbenches. The leaflets said:

> This war is not our war. Why should the German people die or suffer for the profits of capitalist war makers, and for the sake of the Nazi leaders. German imperialism is as guilty of this war as French and British imperialism. The German, French, and British people do not want this war. But they alone can stop it! German worker, do your share.

HITLER EXPOSED

This seed has borne fruit. For a long time the German people feared that Hitler would lead them into war, but it hoped against hope that war would somehow be averted. So in September its outbreak came as a profound shock. There were no celebrations, no parades, no enthusiastic demonstrations. The men joined the colors with heavy hearts—as if, as one German business man told me, they were going to a funeral.

A third reason for the growing authority of the Communists is this: When Hitler, because of fear of the Soviet Union's strength, signed the non-aggression pact in August 1939, he was forced to divulge at least a portion of the truth about conditions in the USSR. His propagandists tried to explain away the welfare of the Soviet people by the natural resources and the vast area of the Soviet Union. But the Communists explain that it is Soviet economy and Soviet policy which has given the whole people access to the natural wealth of the country. They wrote for example in a leaflet in Vienna:

> Hitler has told you that the people in the Soviet Union are starving. Now the party bosses speak of the wealth of the Soviet Union. So you see for yourself that Hitler was lying. Now Hitler tells you that he is waging this war for the sake of *Lebensraum* and of German socialism. Again he is lying. This war is being waged not for the sake of the poor, but for the sake of the rich. Your *Lebensraum* was taken away by Hitler. Only if you take the same road as the workers and farmers in the Soviet Union can you win the *Lebensraum* to live in happiness.

Another factor speaks in favor of the Communists in the eyes of the German people: the betrayal by Chamberlain and Daladier. The German masses know that it was the Soviet Union which helped Spain, which is helping China, and which offered help to the Benes government in the fateful hours of the Czechoslovakian republic. They know too that it was Chamberlain and Daladier who sold out Spain, who sold out Czechoslovakia, and who are courting the Japanese no less than Hitler does. It is hard to describe the contempt with which the German anti-Nazis speak of Chamberlain. A Social Democrat who works in the administration of the city of Berlin discussed with me at length Chamberlain's betrayal: "When the war broke out, we expected at least that the British and French would help the Poles in one way or the other. But when reports came from the Polish front that not a single British or French airplane was sent to the Poles after the war had started, when we saw that not the slightest attempt was made to help unhappy Poland, we were disgusted. I am convinced that whoever links his fate with Chamberlain is lost. I cannot understand why my friends in Paris and London do not see how they discredited themselves by their alliance with the British and French." This municipal employee touched a very important point that worries many Hitler foes. The German Social Democratic, Catholic, and liberal democratic leaders in exile have jumped on the bandwagon of Anglo-French imperialism. They are supporting governments whose unofficial representatives speak more and more openly of the necessity of crushing and dismembering Germany; who call for a total victory that will "make the treaty of Versailles look like a picnic."

TRAITORS ABROAD

I talked in Berlin to the widow of a Social Democrat who had been killed by the Nazis. As we sat in the grim, cold living room of her small apartment she spoke for hours about the difficulties of daily life. (On the wall hung a picture of her husband. He had been taken away by the Nazis one lovely evening in June 1933. A week later his body

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in a sack was fished out of the river.) Her main worry was that she could not get enough milk for her grandchildren. "How can the English," she asked, "make war on children? And how can our people in London associate with them!" I heard this question time and again in my talks with anti-Nazis. Some of them have begun to draw nearer to their Communist comrades; others seem to have been thrown into deep despair.

In spite of the factional differences among leaders of their various groups in exile, in Germany the Social Democratic Party has kept a certain hold on a large section of its former adherents. It seems to me that this influence is rapidly waning, although Social Democratic ideas are still quite strong among many German workers. Former Socialists still meet to drink beer, but they no longer talk politics, I was told. The most active among them look to the Communist Party for leadership.

In general, however, the war has politically activized the German labor movement. Since the first success—the repeal of Hitler's war decrees against labor—the feeling is growing that the fight against the Nazi dictatorship is not hopeless. The Communists with whom I spoke confirmed the fact that they are finding greater response; that people who for years would not touch leaflets are now reading them; that formerly active anti-Nazis who during the last years had retired from politics are returning; that the recognition of the imperialist nature of the war is spreading. Of course they have no illusions. One of the main topics of their discussions is whether Hitler will start the much talked-about spring offensive. Before I left Germany, most of my informants thought that he would not, and they were faced with the prospect that this "eventless war" might drag on for another year before it really got started. Their opinion was that the food situation was by no means precarious enough yet to force Hitler to a showdown. "We have not too much to eat," an old trade-unionist told me, "but not little enough to start the ball rolling. Hitler knows damned well that a serious food situation and big losses at the front would make his life pretty miserable. That's why I think he will avoid battles as long as he can. In the meantime," he finished with a smile, "we can do nothing more than wage a war of nerves on him."

THE PEOPLE'S WAR OF NERVES

It really is a war of nerves which the German anti-Nazis are waging against Hitler. Those leaflets, those wall stickers, the icy silence of the workers or the angry shouts at Nazi speakers in meetings, the general attitude of the German people toward the war—all this is a heavy strain on the nerves of the Nazi machine. Time and again Hitler attempts to break this circle of deadly silence which the majority of the German people, especially the labor movement, have built around themselves. But he has not succeeded. A military writer of the Nazis has called foreign propaganda "bombs on the German soul," and Hitler is worrying about whether the German soul is bombproof. As a matter of fact, as far as Allied propaganda is concerned, it seems to be bombproof. While in Germany I saw every indication that an overwhelming majority of the German people does not believe in Chamberlain's "fight for democracy." But it is also true that the German soul has proved far more bombproof against Nazi ideology than foreign observers suspect. The war is hated in Germany—and so is capitalism. Thousands of small, but compact, groups of Communists are working relentlessly to bring to an end both this war and capitalism. They face heavy odds, and as I have said, they have no illusions about their task. But they feel that the prospects of their success are better than they have been in many years.

Hitler can strengthen the terror against German labor. He can never win it. This is the conviction I brought home from my "fact-finding mission." In another article I will discuss the attitudes of the German ruling class and the middle class toward this war.

HANS MUELLER.

Gardner Rea

"Psst, Buddy—copy of the Bill of Rights?"

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French Communists Tell Their Story

Theodore Draper gets the story from the "Journel Officiel." Communist Deputy Fajon speaks. "Messieurs, you grovel before imperialism. . ."

WHAT has happened to the Communist movement in France?

I have just come across the answer, or a meaningful part of it. Into my possession came two innocent copies of the *Journel Officiel,* which is the Congressional Record of the French Chamber of Deputies. They were dated Jan. 16 and Feb. 20, 1940. Both debates dealt with the expulsion of the Communist deputies. The measure led to a general discussion of the Communist problem, out of which emerged a curious report on the condition of French Communism—curious because we are permitted to learn only as much as the avowed enemies of Communism choose to tell each other. Obviously this leaves much to be desired, but the method has one advantage: Clearly the activity of the French Communists cannot be any less than their enemies will admit publicly.

In order not to gild the lily, I am going to stick strictly to the words of the *Journel,* adding explanations only where absolutely necessary. Without reorganizing the material in any way, I am placing one bit of evidence after another as they occur in the record. Most of them are self-explanatory.

On January 16, M. Jean-Louis Tixier-Vignancourt, a spokesman for the extreme right, opened the debate. He said in part:

> The government must not imagine that there will be nothing more to do once the former Communist deputies have been thrown out. To put it exactly, it will have to face the most difficult task: that of smashing the activity of the secret organization of the Communist Party, that organization which is inspired by the leaders who fled at a moment when it should have been impossible for any French citizen to take flight.

M. Tixier-Vignancourt confessed that he was puzzled. If the Communist deputies who escaped were not in France, how did they cross the frontier in wartime? If they were in France how did they manage to hide out so successfully?

Meanwhile, he received support from M. Vincent Badie, who said:

> We should not lose sight of the fact that when we have eliminated the Communist deputies from the Chamber, Communism with its pernicious propaganda will remain in the country.
>
> What I also wish to say to the government is that even if we learn from time to time that leaders have been arrested in Paris and in the suburbs, the same does not hold true in the provinces from which we daily receive letters such as this, written by one of my friends, which I received this morning, and which I would like permission to read in the Chamber.
>
> "Communist propaganda continues here with intensity. On the walls of the town are written: 'Down with the imperialist war!' . . ."

M. Andre Albert interrupted: "That is generally so." M. Badie continued:

> . . . "'Down with Daladier!' A housewife, a very good woman who has just visited us, in common with all the women of her neighborhood, believes the Communist lies. They spread the poison everywhere."

Somewhat later, M. Francois Martin picked up the thread of the argument from the right. He complained:

> I ask, where are the Communist leaders? Some of them are in prison. But where are the others? Where is Thorez. . . ?
>
> M. TIXIER-VIGNANCOURT: He was in Paris a week ago.

If so, Thorez, the most savagely hunted revolutionist in France, visited the capital on January 9, a remarkable feat. M. Martin wanted an answer for another miracle.

> It has been proven that, even in France, it is perfectly possible for a Communist to evade police investigation when a warrant for his arrest has been issued. M. Florimond Bonte is a proof of that. Where was M. Florimond Bonte between the day when the warrant for his arrest was issued and the day when we found him comfortably seated on a bench of this Chamber? I pose this question because it is rather important: Two months went by and his warrant was not put into effect.

This was M. Martin's grudging tribute to Bonte, who was secretary of the foreign affairs commission of the Chamber, and who made an earlier effort to speak in the Chamber. He succeeded in entering the hall but he was hustled out and arrested before he uttered a full sentence.

On January 16, however, one important Communist leader did speak in the tradition of Dimitrov at Leipzig. He was Etienne Fajon, who was able to attend a session of the Chamber because he had been mobilized and thus had to be granted temporary immunity. With Fajon was another Communist deputy, Marius Mouton, for whom he also spoke.

Here, in full, is the speech of Etienne Fajon which no French paper or foreign correspondent even mentioned:

> The Chamber is requested to vote for the expulsion of the former Communist group which, under the blows of persecution, refuse to repudiate their past, their ideals, and their party, which was arbitrarily dissolved.
>
> With few exceptions, the deputies affected by the measure on which you intend to vote have already been excluded from this assembly. In fact, ever since the beginning of October, the government has ordered their arrest and their imprisonment without trial—in a system based on equal rights.
>
> I wish to raise the most vigorous protest against the arbitrary detention of these deputies. [Protests from right and center] I demand the release of the French deputies who were arbitrarily imprisoned.
>
> To my co-workers and friends who are in prison and to whom I extend fraternal greetings from this tribunal . . . [New protests from right and center]
>
> PRESIDENT OF THE CHAMBER (Edouard Herriot): Gentlemen, justice will decide.
>
> M. ETIENNE FAJON: . . . I want to assert, at a time when fear of assault has impelled the desertion of some people, of the Gittons . . . [Gitton was one of the deserters.—*T. D.*]
>
> M. MARCEL CAPRON: They do not need any lessons from you.
>
> M. ETIENNE FAJON: . . . that as for us, we remain unshakably faithful to our common ideal. [Interruptions]
>
> As for the proposal of expulsion which is before

The Shame of France

FORTY-FOUR Communist deputies, representatives of 1,500,000 Frenchmen, were sentenced to four years in jail last week after fifteen days of deliberations by a military court. Nine of these forty-four were absent, and were in their absence deprived of all civil rights and fined 4,000 francs. Among these are great names: Maurice Thorez, Jacques Duclos, Gabriel Peri, Andre Marty, Arthur Ramette, and Gaston Monmousseau. Sentences of eight others, veterans of the World War, were suspended, but the fines remain. Florimond Bonte, whose effort to speak in the French Chamber last month electrified the world, was dealt the severest blow: loss of rights, fine, and *five* years in jail. Etienne Fajon, whose defiance of the French Chamber NEW MASSES publishes in this issue, was hustled to jail still in his soldier's uniform. This is the greatest mass trial since the days of the Girondists in the French Revolution. While the deputies appealed their case, Reynaud's minister of interior brought in a decree providing the death sentence for dissemination of Communist opinions: a measure which threatens not only the life of each deputy but thousands of French working men and women. The rulers of France are desperate. Communism still lives in France and cannot be crushed. The working class movement stands firm; its voice speaks boldly against reaction and the war; it cannot be silenced. Millions of men and women everywhere are aghast at France's shame. Millions pay homage to these deputies who accused their accusers, who defend the mandate of their people in the face of the firing squad. The spirit of the Communards still lives.

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LEGISLATORS ON TRIAL. *Communist deputies before the military court which convicted them April 3. In the center, behind the rail, wearing a gray suit and glasses, is Florimond Bonte, secretary of the foreign affairs commission until his expulsion from the Chamber. At the lower left, in army uniform, is Etienne Fajon. Near him on his left are Felix Brun (with cane) and Jean Duclos, both crippled from wounds received in the last war.*

us, I ask the Chamber, as I did during the preceding session, to consider it unacceptable and to reject it purely and simply.

If a legal question were involved, I should limit myself to the observation that the deputies whom you intend to deprive of their rights have not been condemned in any way in the courts since their election. The expulsion of these deputies is, therefore, arbitrary and illegal.

But that, gentlemen, in my opinion, is only a secondary aspect of the problem, for it seems very easy today to imprison people in order to get rid of them. I have already given some examples.

It seems to me more important to remind you that we are, whether you like it or not, deputies who were elected by universal suffrage. As representatives of the people, we believe that only the people are qualified to determine the validity of our mandates, and that it is only to the people that we must give an account for ourselves.

Today you pretend to act as a substitute for the people, to deprive arbitrarily a portion of the French population of their representatives. The vote on our expulsion will be a flagrant violation of the principles of democracy which you have the audacity to claim that you defend. [Interruptions from many benches]

PRESIDENT OF THE CHAMBER: Please do not interrupt.

M. ETIENNE FAJON: It is true that the government did not wait until today to destroy our meager democratic liberties. The real content of bourgeois democracy is clear today in the eyes of all. The measure which you are preparing to take against us follows the arbitrary arrest of the Communist deputies who were not mobilized. It follows the expulsion, which I call scandalous, and the condemnation of four mobilized deputies who were regularly summoned to the Chamber and held responsible for incidents provoked by their frenzied enemies. [Four Communist deputies, who were mobilized, and thus entered the Chamber after the mass arrests of the other Communist deputies, were expelled on this occasion.—*T. D.*]

It follows the dissolution of the Communist Party and of the most powerful trade unions of the working class, the arrest of hundreds of trade union representatives of the working class, the establishment of isolation camps, the decree against suspects, the persecutions which strike at thousands of workers guilty only of not bowing before the dictatorship which big business today defends.

["Isolation camps" is the current French term for concentration camps. The decree against suspects empowers the government to hold people on the mere charge of "suspicion."—*T. D.*]

Of course, you make the pretense of justifying the anti-Communist persecutions and our expulsion by facts of an international character, such as the signing of the German-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact . . . [Shouts from many benches]

M. MAX LEJEUNE: Of aggression!

M. ETIENNE FAJON: . . . and what you call the Soviet aggression against Finland.

Gentlemen, some of you know as well as we do that in the eyes of the imperialists of Paris and London [Interruptions] the Finnish territory constitutes a base of eventual attack against the Soviet Union, and a base for spreading the war.

M. JEAN DESBONS: I hope, after such statements, that the commission will return to the date of October 1.

[The Chamber commission appointed to report on the Communist expulsions considered several dates before which the Communist deputies had to renounce the Communist Party or face expulsion. October 1 was the earliest date, supported by the extreme right which did not even want to accept the renegades.—*T. D.*]

M. ETIENNE FAJON: The question of the date means nothing to me. I do not want to give the impression of forsaking my first love.

Perhaps, because the plans which I have mentioned were frustrated, certain people have today become the champions of the independence of small nations, after having helped not so long ago to assassinate the Spanish republic when it was attacked by international imperialism.

It is easy to answer the arguments of the government by referring to its own source material.

In the Yellow Book, which the government has just published, we can read—Document 149—the following note from M. Georges Bonnet, at that time minister of foreign affairs, about his conversation with the German ambassador in Paris:

"Finally, I told the ambassador that he could observe the unanimity with which the French nation had rallied to the support of the government. Elections would be suspended; public meetings would be stopped; attempts at foreign propaganda of whatever kind would be suppressed; and the Communists would be brought to book."

The Communists brought to book . . .

This note is dated July 1, 1939, several weeks before the German-Soviet pact. [Interruptions]

Therefore the pact was only a pretext. The persecutions were decided upon well before the pact and it would seem that M. Bonnet, who is today the minister of justice, is only carrying out the proposals made by M. Bonnet, as minister for foreign affairs, to the German ambassador on July 1.

As a matter of fact, the great majority of the workers of this country have not missed the meaning of the measures which you are taking against us. [Interruptions]

Your persecutions are enlightening them about the real character of the present war, which you have the nerve to represent as a war in defense of liberty [Shouts] at the very moment when you are destroying all liberty inside this country. [Interruptions]

The workers quite correctly recognize a relationship of cause and effect between our expulsion and your policy of wiping out the social laws, the

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extraordinary taxation on wages, the crushing of the farmers and small shopkeepers, and the incessant increase in the cost of living. [Interruptions]

We declare that this policy, which hits the working masses, is being conducted with the support of all parties in the Chamber, including the Socialist Party. [Shouts from the extreme left]

M. MAX LEJEUNE: We expected that! It makes us feel young again!

M. ETIENNE FAJON: In fact, it is the correct turn of events. You preach the class struggle in certain periods of calm. In times of action, whether it be the present war or that of 1914, you grovel before the imperialism of your country . . .

M. MAX LEJEUNE: We are Frenchmen, that is all.

M. ETIENNE FAJON: . . . and you try to make the workers submit to the blows that are struck at them.

That is your business. But I insist upon expressing this estimate of the role of the various parties of this Chamber.

M. HENRY ANDRAUD: Be quiet! The dead are looking at you.

M. ETIENNE FAJON: I have contempt for your insults.

M. MARCEL MASSOT: You have contempt for the dead!

M. ETIENNE FAJON: It is because you know that the people do not approve of this policy that you are dissolving its organizations and striking at its best defenders.

Gentlemen of the government, you can persecute us today, you can imprison some of us and drive us from Parliament. But you cannot break the will for peace of the French people, the will to retain their social achievements, the fruit of their past struggles, their determination to go forward on the path of social, economic, and political progress.

This determination of the people will find expression despite your decrees, despite our expulsion, despite your persecutions. One day it will be stronger than you.

As for us, I repeat, in my own name, and in the name of my co-worker and friend, M. Mouton, in the name of the majority of our co-workers and friends who are imprisoned in Sante jail: We shall remain faithful to the end to the cause of the working class and the proletarian International, to the real cause of the French people, to the cause of socialism and we continue to believe that we represent, together with the Soviet Union, the real cause of the working class, the cause of Communism.

Fajon's arrest followed this speech of defiance and courage and loyalty.

On January 20, the Chamber expelled the Communist deputies, except for a few who deserted the party before Oct. 26, 1939. Later, however, the government regretted the choice of that date because a few more desertions occurred afterward. The debate of February 20 took place on a new proposal to accept all twelve of the deserters. Opinion in the Chamber divided between those who wished to permit all of them to hold their seats and those who wished to tolerate the first seven deserters only on the ground that the last five were late and therefore untrustworthy.

M. Georges Barthelemy, Socialist, who represented the commission handling the affair, advocated the first course. M. Louis Marin, a leader of the extreme right, fought for the second.

M. Barthelemy told some good stories. He said:

I would like to inform you of a short passage in a special number of *l'Humanite*, which was distributed widely in our factories and was sent to me by a Socialist comrade from Suresnes. Here is what he wrote:

"Thanking you once more for the credential from the military governor of Paris which you sent me . . ."—this reference will soon be explained, for this man was almost sent to an isolation camp—". . . I am sending you a copy of a rag which I read today. It is perhaps a little old, January 18. Anyway, it is important. No doubt you will relish the short passage at the end which is aimed at you particularly and specifically, so that you may realize the spirit of the Communist element in our place."

This is happening in the big Bleriot factories.

"Once more I wonder whether those in high office are going to put a stop to that rotten propaganda which makes simple-minded followers out of poor, misled fellows who swallow with open mouths this vicious stuff.

"In my opinion, it would be quite easy in a place like mine. In any case, I must admit that these bozos took a beating this week. I learned about the arrest of three notorious Communists—without any noise. But their propaganda goes on and, in case of a difficult situation, those troublemakers would still be capable of putting a factory like ours into a complete mess. No need to tell you that a certain number of us anyway could react vigorously, but this would be not without danger to ourselves."

And here is what this "infamous rag" said. I do not wish to repeat the attacks against President Herriot, and against Leon Blum, but only those against the government, for by attacking it now, the whole country is attacked.

Here is what it states:

"That warmonger, Daladier, is sending arms and ammunition to the Finnish White Guards. French troops have already been shipped to the East. The anti-Soviet war is being prepared with the support of Blum, who refused to give guns to the Spanish people while they were being butchered by fascism.

"Not a sou, not a bullet, not a man for the government of the Finnish White Guards!

"Take your paws away from the Soviet Union, the workers' fatherland!

"Throw out Daladier, agent of big business, who dishonors France!"

To get the full meaning of this remarkable passage in the speech of the commission's own "reporter," I would ask the reader to go over it again. It merits close study.

In it are four chief admissions about the French Communist movement:

1. *L'Humanite* is "distributed widely" in the factories.

2. Communists in the factories are arrested with all possible discretion—"without any noise."

3. "Those in high office" have found it impossible to counteract Communist propaganda in the factories.

4. In some factories, indeed, the enemies of Communism are definitely on the defensive, as indicated in the remark, "but this would be not without danger to ourselves."

Hard to believe if it were not out of their own mouths!

Barthelemy went on to complain that the police dragnet against the Communists covered so much ground that even the most faithful Socialists and reactionary trade union leaders have been sent away to concentration camps. The most remarkable case which he cited was that of Pierre Delmas, a reactionary labor leader of the first rank, corresponding in importance to Matthew Woll of the American Federation of Labor. It is of some interest that the deputies of the right showed little interest in this portion of his report

A. Ajay

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though he willingly managed their dirty work in the expulsion of the Communists.

The reader should follow the next passage with care in order to get all the nuances. M. Barthelemy again:

I would like to point to only two cases.

First, that of our comrade, Simon-Andre, who was certainly a member of the Communist Party ten years ago, but who left it at that time and who worked up the best Socialist propaganda and the best French propaganda in one of our nationalized factories.

He was ordered to the camp at Saint-Benoit. I brought this to the attention of the government and the order was revoked within forty-eight hours.

M. HENRY ANDRAUD: That is beside the point.

M. GEORGES BARTHELEMY: The second is that of Raymond Marais, a municipal councilor of Asnieres, where he fought the Communist candidate and always fought against Communism.

M. MARCEL GUERRET: These are election stories! Drop them.

M. GEORGES BARTHELEMY: They are not election stories, they are facts. It is absolutely necessary to unmask the Communists in the civil or military administrations, who, when a Socialist or an ordinary worker is arrested, can tell the other workers who listen open-mouthed: "You see that the government's persecution is not directed against Communism only; it strikes at the whole working class," for it is that sort of thing which wins over the masses and which, tomorrow, leads to the danger of a revolution.

I am going to read a letter—in which my friend, M. Guerret, will find no electoral motive—that I received from one of the principal leaders of the CGT. [Confederation Generale du Travail, the French trade union federation now under reactionary leadership.—*T. D.*]

M. MARCEL GUERRET: This has nothing to do with the expulsion of a certain number of Communist deputies.

M. GEORGES BARTHELEMY: It is important in regard to the consequences of the expulsions.

Here is the letter:

"I am completely in agreement with you, my dear friend, about warning the premier of the provocative maneuvers used by the Communists, in certain factories, against our men.

"In fact, it is my impression that they enjoy the complicity of the management of certain factories, as well as of certain military offices.

"It is inadmissible that those who have fought against the Communists and condemned their dirty maneuvers should themselves be the victims, at this moment, of arbitrary measures."

And he cited the cases of Pierre Delmas in the Latil factories, Rene Menegaux from the Gnome and Rhone, and Fernand Goujard of the Chausson factories.

"These three men, for whom I answer completely from an ethical point of view, are men of trust. Unfortunately, there are other isolated cases. Good comrades have been thrown out of factories on a mere denunciation and we could not intervene in time to save them."

It is always dangerous to estimate the work of a revolutionary party from the viewpoint of reactionary politicians. A good many things in the Chamber speeches may be suspect, for these men are haunted by the Communist specter. Nevertheless, one massive fact does emerge.

When the German-Soviet pact was signed, the word went out that the Soviet government had destroyed the Communist movement throughout the world, and, most "tragically," the French Communist Party. The debate in the Chamber should make it impossible for any honest person to repeat this particular bit of rubbish.

The Communist movement in France is feared and hated today as much as, if not more than, it ever was. Otherwise such a debate could never have taken place.

As a matter of fact, the French Communist Party has done supremely well. Not only does it live and breathe, but it is impossible to live and breathe anywhere in France today without feeling its influence and meeting its activity. Every recent arrival from France to whom I have spoken has reported as much. The Chamber debate more than verified their personal impressions.

The secret of the French Communists' success is a simple one. *They entrenched themselves in those fortresses of the working class: the factories.* The Bleriot factory, for example, is the most important airplane plant in France. According to M. Barthelemy's informant, the Communists could not be shaken out of their jobs or otherwise attacked without disrupting the factory's production. Moreover, the Communists sank these deep and healthy roots into the nation's economic life by fighting, not by hiding. War or no war, *l'Humanite* has been "distributed widely."

This, too, is the answer to Francois Martin's puzzle, which was, it may be recalled: "Where are the Communist leaders? Some of them are in prison. But where are the others?"

In France the working class quarter is a compact unit. In some old cities, such as Nice, it is built on a plateau like a natural fortress. If the workers stick together, it is not easily invaded. The Communist leaders have survived through the support of the people. It is as simple as that.

It is not possible to kill a real revolutionary movement with a decree.

THEODORE DRAPER.

NLRA Amendments

YIELDING to employer pressure, the House Labor Committee by a vote of thirteen to eight has approved four amendments to the National Labor Relations Act. Worst of these is the proposal to add two members to the NLRB, thus "packing" the board with administrators who, with present board member William M. Leiserson, will provide a majority for emasculation of the act from within. A second amendment would provide for recognition of craft units within an industry, despite a majority vote by workers in favor of industrial unionization. Still another amendment would give employers the right to petition for an election when there is a dispute between rival unions. This will enable employers to form fake provocative company groups and to call for elections before workers are prepared to vote for a union of their own choice. A fourth amendment would provide for the continuance of contracts between employers and workers for the period of one year even though workers may choose to change their affiliation during the year.

Obviously these amendments are designed to destroy effective operation of NLRA. They are sponsored by Rep. Mary T. Norton of New Jersey, who, as chairwoman of the House Labor Committee, represents the Roosevelt administration. They have been warmly approved by William Green, AFL president, who has been collaborating with the National Association of Manufacturers. They represent an attempt at reprisal by the administration for the progressive political activity of the CIO. Hovering in the background are the openly destructive amendments of the Smith committee which recently "investigated" the act with malice aforethought. Poll tax bourbon Rep. Howard Smith of Virginia will seek an open rule for consideration of his amendments by petition. The House campaign to weaken NLRA, to destroy it if possible, will culminate next week on the floor; there is still time to demand that the law be strengthened not weakened.

What Happened April 6

APRIL 6 was a big day for the brass hats. By official ukase it was Army and Navy Day, and in New York, for example, the well-named General Drum made the best of it. Cannon rumbled down Fifth Avenue, generals made speeches, posed with hats over their hearts when the flag went by. FDR sent "thanks and congratulations"—as the New York *Times* put it—to the military for their fine show.

General Drum's parade saw ten floats provided by big concerns, bearing the slogan, "Preparedness Protects Peace." Sinister slogan, for America remembers a Preparedness Day twenty-four years ago—one year later America went to war.

But April 6 was another day to other men—the army of laboring men who fight the wars. Despite Martin Dies' radio exhortation to boycott the peace demonstrations eighty anti-war meetings were held April 6 and 7. John L. Lewis in his great speech at Flint, Mich., said, "If you don't want your bones to whiten on a European battlefield, then organize, raise your voices, learn to live before you learn to die." The vote, April 6, was for life.

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Mr. Lewis Listens and Learns

The CIO leader warns that labor will not follow FDR along the Wilson road. The alternative. An analysis by Adam Lapin.

Washington, D. C.

ORGANIZERS of the CIO who talked to John L. Lewis during the drives in steel, rubber, auto, tell pretty much the same story. Lewis listens for the most part. He peppers them with questions. He wants to know particularly: What are the workers thinking? What are their moods and attitudes? What do they say about the union? He asks for precise reports. When his questions are answered, he is prepared to offer his own suggestions.

Lewis has been listening these last few months since the outbreak of the war in Europe. He has been getting the feel of what the people think of the war, of the President's foreign policy, of the administration's changed domestic policies. And because he has listened and understood, he gives the same kind of leadership on the political field that the CIO gives in organizing the mass production industries.

For those who have been watching the recent activities and statements of the CIO, there was nothing startling in Lewis' Miners Day speech at Monongah, W. Va., where he proposed a new political alignment. It was a logical, almost inevitable, development; and it will be followed by other, equally important developments.

The war in Europe had been on only a few days when Lewis said in his Labor Day speech from Ogden, Utah: "Labor in America wants no war nor any part of war. Labor wants the right to work and live—not the privilege of dying by gunshot or poison gas to sustain the mental errors of current statesmen." At the San Francisco convention in October, the CIO declared emphatic opposition to involvement in the war and outlined certain immediate perspectives: "every effort must be made to stop profiteering and to adjust wage levels to rising prices," "preoccupation with foreign affairs must not be allowed to detract attention from unemployment and other pressing problems of internal economic security," and "more than usual vigilance must be exercised to guard existing labor and social legislation and democratic rights against curtailment under the pretext of emergency considerations."

LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM

Next came the legislative program adopted by the officers of the CIO on December 15. Distrust of the Roosevelt administration was now explicitly stated: "Unfortunately, the time and energy of our own government representatives during the past few months have been devoted almost exclusively to international affairs at the expense of the interests and needs of the American people at home." If the administration was discarding the program it had once favored, the CIO emphasized the need "to continue and extend the gains and benefits of the social legislation enacted during the past few years," and offered definite and detailed proposals.

By the time of the United Mine Workers convention late in January, the trend of administration policy had become unmistakable. The President had sent his budget message to Congress. Relief was to be slashed, armaments expenditures skyrocketed. The Wagner health bill was thrown out the window. There was to be no new social legislation. And Lewis spoke more sharply now. He specifically opposed a third term for the President. Labor had entered into a coalition with the Democratic administration during the 1936 elections, but the administration had not kept faith. "A political coalition, at least, presupposes a post-election good faith between the coalescent interests." The administration had not given representation to labor in the Cabinet or in important posts. It had not sought the advice of labor on the major questions of the day. It had not solved the pressing problems of unemployment and insecurity. It had not restrained the labor-baiting of the majority of Democrats in Congress. And labor would not support any Democratic candidate unless the Democratic Party reached an "accord" with labor and adopted a program acceptable to labor—and even then, "guarantees of good faith and fulfillment of party promises would have to be made."

Lewis' speech to the Citizenship Institute of the American Youth Congress on February 10 refuses to be compressed, but at least two new factors are worthy of note here. Distrust of administration foreign policy had deepened and matured. He told off the President for rebuking the Youth Congress, or any other group that wasn't sold on the proposition that the United States had a sacred mission to save Mannerheim Finland. He said that resolutions such as those adopted by the New York council of the Youth Congress and by the United Mine Workers opposing loans to Finland "represent the constant and the conscious and the subconscious ever-present fear that in some way the politicians and statesmen of this country and the warring world will in some fashion drag our country into the war—and it is a protest, it is a protest." And there was this thought too: There is something that the people can do while the administration which they elected in a great popular upsurge walks out on them. "It is time for labor, it is time for the common people, and it is time for the youth of America to get together." Out of that speech came organized collaboration between the Youth Congress and Labor's Non-Partisan League.

At Monongah, Lewis took the next step. If the Democratic Party would "not nominate a candidate . . . or adopt a platform satisfactory to labor," he would urge a convention of the CIO. Labor's Non-Partisan League, the leading Negro organizations, the liberal farmers' groups, the Townsend movement, to draw up a platform of their own. Organized labor was prepared to give leadership, but it wanted to cooperate and join with all groups that represent the oppressed and the underprivileged.

This proposal didn't spring full blown from the brain of John L. Lewis. It was neither the ill tempered and meaningless threat described by the editorial writers, nor "political romanticism" as it was called by that eminent practitioner of practical politics, Norman Thomas. It grew out of the terrible inadequacy of the Roosevelt administration, and particularly out of the developments since September. It grew out of the feeling of the people, not always articulate, not always clearly expressed, but growing in intensity, that Mr. Roosevelt was following in the footsteps of a famous Democratic predecessor of some twenty-three years ago.

FUTURE MOVES

What next? Persons close to Lewis at the offices of the CIO and the United Mine Workers deny that there is any precise blueprint in his desk. They believe that additional steps will be taken in line with the developments of the next few months and with the decisions of trade union conventions and progressive leaders. Precise questions of detail and strategy cannot be answered now.

But they do suggest certain general propositions: that Lewis will continue to move on the course outlined in his recent statements, that he will not easily be satisfied by promises to sin no more from Democratic politicians, that it is extremely unlikely that he would consider President Roosevelt as an acceptable candidate or get behind him because of an international "emergency," and that he will most certainly not lapse into passivity or inaction if labor turns thumbs down on both the Democratic and Republican candidates. Given these propositions, it doesn't take a prophet to predict that following the Democratic convention in July, Lewis may very likely take practical steps toward the formation of an inclusive third party of labor and all progressive organizations. Nor is it necessary to listen to all the whispering galleries of Washington to know that the new and tremendously significant political movement that is on its way has found a far-sighted leader.

ADAM LAPIN.

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"I Am Serving Notice . . ."

John L. Lewis challenges the major political parties. "Men and women cry for bread"—while millions are appropriated "for detectives."

On April 1 John L. Lewis made a speech at Monongah, W. Va., in which he discussed for the first time proposals for independent political action in opposition to both the Republican and Democratic parties. Because of the importance of the speech and because the daily press printed only brief and fragmentary extracts from it, NEW MASSES is publishing its text in somewhat abridged form. We invite comment from our readers on the issues raised by Mr. Lewis.—THE EDITORS.

I SPEAK today not alone as president of the United Mine Workers of America, but as president of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, and as chairman of Labor's National Non-Partisan League. And I represent a great segment of the population of our country, because they have authorized me to represent them, and they have authorized me to speak their desires, and they have authorized me to say for them to the country that they want a job at a wage that will let them live like Americans should live. . . .

On Jan. 24, 1940, at the Golden Jubilee Convention of the United Mine Workers of America, more than 2,400 delegates present, I made some statements as affecting the national political and economic situation, and placed some grave responsibility upon the political party in power. I wish to quote just a sentence or two from that statement today:

> After seven years of power the Democratic Party finds itself without solution for the major questions of unemployment, low national income, mounting internal debt, increasing direct and consumer taxation, and restricted foreign markets. There still exists the same national unhappiness that obtained seven years ago. The present Congress is without a program, except to enact necessary appropriations in ample time to engage in the national quadrennial political marathon, meaning the campaign of 1940.

Since I made that statement, which was published in the newspapers of this country, no statesman, no member of Congress, no politician, no defender of the administration, no industrialist, and no banker has arisen anywhere in this land to gainsay the truth of that statement.

I know how heavily the question of unemployment bears down upon the men in industry, and their families, in this country. I know how many days' employment every coal mine in this country gives to its workers throughout a year. I know that the Research Department of the Congress of Industrial Organizations now has figures to show that on the first day of March 1940 there were 11,880,000 people in this country without a job; and when I say that there is unemployment in America, I mean just that—just that—and to date no gentleman in Congress, no member of the President's Cabinet—not even the President himself—has arisen to say to these eleven million people, and the country at large: I propose to do something about the unemployment question.

UNEMPLOYMENT THE ISSUE

The unemployment question is responsible for most of America's economic and political ills. Provide work for the people, and every other collateral question will assume its proper proportions and be subject to a rational arrangement or disposition. The population must have work in order to eat, and by eating they make business for those who have manufacturing plants, and mining plants, and railroads, and banks, and government securities in this country. All the workers of this country are asking is that they be permitted to work, so that they can then eat and have shelter and clothing, an opportunity to educate their children, an opportunity to be consumers of the materials made by America's great industrial machines, an opportunity to become a natural market for the output of our agricultural population that finds itself unable to market its crops, because the people cannot buy. And yet, in spite of the appalling situation that exists now, and existed on January 24, and exists today without abatement, not a single, solitary suggestion has been made in America on the question of how to provide Americans with work.

When a coal mine shuts down, or a steel plant shuts down, or a glass factory, or a motor factory, or a lumber mill, or any other kind of a plant, it becomes necessary for the people in those houses and those communities to arrange so that they will not die of starvation, and they will not be victims of the lack of shelter.

Far from settling the unemployment question, the existing administration, in the name of economy, is curtailing the meager relief heretofore extended to men and women out of work. Between now and July 1,600,000 men have to be dropped from the relief rolls of the WPA in this country, to make the suggested appropriation last through the slim winter months. What a sad commentary it is that we are putting men and women off relief, careless of whether they live or die, when the Congress is asked to appropriate more money to employ more federal detectives. Why, bad as Herbert Hoover was in the days when he was President, he only asked the Congress to appropriate $2,800,000 for the Federal Bureau of Investigation to hire detectives; while our own administration is asking a budget of $9,800,000 for detectives. What good are detectives, when men and women cry for bread?

What good are national police institutes conducted by the Federal Bureau of Investigation to train men for industrial espionage at great expense to the taxpayer, while men and women, not by the thousands, but men and women by the millions throughout this country do not have enough to eat, do not have enough to wear, cannot secure the necessary medicine to treat themselves when illness befalls, as it does befall from malnutrition, and we appropriate millions to build up a secret service in this country to train men to act as industrial spies, to furnish a recruiting office for industry in America to hire the federal detectives at more salary than the government to conduct their own industrial espionage. Those are some of the paradoxes that now exist that cannot go on, because the people will awaken in the end.

AMERICAN YOUTH CONGRESS

Some few weeks ago, as chairman of Labor's Non-Partisan League, I addressed the American Youth Congress, in Washington, D. C. Delegates were there in convention representing various youth organizations, representing from four and one-half to five million of our working young people in every state in our Union. I invited them to become affiliated with Labor's Non-Partisan League, and to join themselves with the progressive labor organizations of our time, in working toward the common objectives of every American. They received the invitation with enthusiasm, and I am happy to say that since that time a complete and satisfactory working alliance has been worked out and ratified as between the American Youth Congress, and all its component units, and Labor's Non-Partisan League, with its millions of members throughout this country.

Between now and July 4 I expect to address two conventions of great Negro organizations in this country, the National Negro Congress, and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. And I am going to say to those representatives of the Negro race that it is an outrage and a shame that eight million Negroes in America are prevented from voting in eight southern states, because they do not have enough money to pay their poll tax for one year, or the accumulated years which they run in those states. In addition to those eight million Negroes, there are millions of white Americans in the same situation who are disenfranchised in the same manner, in order that they might be prevented from expressing themselves at the polls as to who should represent that population in public offices of the state and federal government.

Why, in some of our Southern states only

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26 percent of the population votes. In others of our Southern states only 24 percent of the population votes, and in one Southern state only 18 percent of the population is able to pay the price to vote through this iniquitous poll tax arrangement. Talk about minority representation and a dictatorship of politicians! There are startling examples of how Americans are prevented from casting their vote on public questions, because they are poor—because they are poor, and being poor, they should not be permitted to express an opinion about what their master may desire. What a damnable condition!

And what is being done about that? Nothing, except what labor is trying to do about it. It is supporting a bill now pending in Congress, asking the Congress of the United States to enact legislation to strike down those poll tax provisions upon all men and women who vote for federal offices. In addition to that, labor is financing some litigation in the courts, designed to test the principle of this debarment from the right of suffrage in the highest court of this country. And yet, when I spoke before the American Youth Congress in Washington, I suggested that the administration in power, through the Civil Liberties Division of the Department of Justice, might join in a judicial determination of the right to disbar Americans from voting; yet, because of political expediency, President Roosevelt's administration has not yet seen fit to take steps toward freeing those eight million Negroes, and those additional millions of white Americans, from the conditions that obtain in those eight Southern states.

I am going to mention some of these things to these great Negro conventions, when they convene, and I am going to invite these Negro organizations to associate themselves with and become affiliated with Labor's Non-Partisan League in this country, just the same as the American Youth Congress.

OLD AGE PENSIONS

Some time between July 1 and July 4 I expect to address in St. Louis, Missouri, some twenty thousand delegates that will assemble there in a Townsend Old Age convention, and I am going to tell those delegates that the Congress of Industrial Organizations has already declared in favor of the principle and in favor of legislation to provide for old people after they reach the age of sixty years, and the Congress of Industrial Organizations has declared for old age pensions of $60 per month per person, after sixty years of age.

Why? For both humanitarian reasons and for economic reasons, to take these old people out of the job lines in this country, and make way for younger people; because when a man or woman reaches the age of sixty, they should not be compelled to endure the haunting terror day by day of looking for a job in fields where they cannot physically or otherwise compete with the younger men and women in this country, who also want a job, and should be permitted to work; and as

Soriano

"If you're good, we may even let you come back into the Empire."

chairman of Labor's Non-Partisan League, I am going to extend to the Old Age Pension organizations of this country, and to the Townsend convention in St. Louis, an invitation to join with and affiliate with Labor's Non-Partisan League, and make common cause in this country for the attainment of these objectives with organized labor, with the Negroes, with the American youth, and with the liberal organizations of farmers in this country.

THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY

It is time that American sentiment, as affecting the common people, be crystallized, so as to bring pressure to bear upon these politicians, and these statesmen, who seem unable to cope either with America's political, America's economic, or America's social problems.

In my address at Columbus I pointed out that if the Democratic Party wanted to work with labor and the common people, there is yet time to work out a program that would be acceptable to the common people and to labor in this country, so that all could work wholeheartedly in behalf of an agreed program and an agreed presidential candidate in the Democratic Party. I was assuming, of course, that the Democratic Party would naturally be desirous of working out a program that might commend itself to the great mass of exploited and oppressed Americans who find themselves so heavily burdened, either with unemployment, increased taxes—because each of you men who have no property and works for a living pays about 21 percent of what you make into the indirect taxes that are assessed against your wages—don't forget that—for those businessmen who find their business disappearing, I assumed the Democratic Party would want to work out a program and select a presidential candidate who might reflect the viewpoints of that great mass of Americans.

Up to this point, however, I have no reason to believe that the Democratic Party is even alive to its own hazards; and I have no reason to believe that many of its leaders even desire to cooperate with labor and the other liberal organizations of the common people in this country, and time is passing.

So in behalf of labor, and in behalf of the average man and woman, I am going to work toward the end of crystallizing the sentiment of these people, and make a common cause each with the other, to protect themselves in this dire economic situation that now oppresses our land.

In the event that the Democratic Party does not nominate a candidate for President, or adopt a platform satisfactory to labor and the common people of this country, I shall, after the conventions of the Democratic and Republican parties, espouse and urge upon these various organizations the assembling of a great delegate convention, to be composed of delegates from the Congress of Industrial Organizations, Labor's Non-Partisan League, the old age pension movements, the national Negro organizations, and liberal farmers' organizations, to meet in some central city and present their views, crystallize their judgment into a program that each and every American can support, and we will see whether mere machine politics in this country is going to be more powerful and more controlling than the voice of the citizens of the land.

I am serving notice on the political parties of this country, because, after all, I don't expect anything from the Republican Party, because it is obvious that those who pay the fiddler call the tune, but I am serving notice on the major political parties of this country that America cannot permit it to drift, drift, merely to drift, while politicians hope, hope, merely hope; and I am also serving notice in behalf of the people I represent in this country, and there are many of them, that the answer to these problems is not the answer of having America participate in the European war.

WAR NO SOLUTION

Those in this country who may secretly hope that America eventually may be drawn into the European war, and thus provide an answer for unemployment, and all the collateral economic and political questions which now beset the land, are in for a fool's awakening, because America is not going to participate in a European war, not to please the manufacturers of war equipment, not to please the makers of airplanes, not to please the makers of chemicals, not to please any despairing politicians, not even to please the Allies.

America's young men, if I understand the temper of the American people, are not again going to be butchered in a European country, or upon a foreign shore. So let those who are interested take heed of this sentiment. Let it be understood that we Americans have prob-

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lems of our own, and after we come to the point that we have all our own affairs perfectly arranged, and all of our people have a job and health and security, then, perhaps, we will be in the situation spoken of in the Scriptures, that we will be able to take the mote out of our neighbor's eye.

But I doubt that we are in that position now, and I am quite sure that Americans have no desire to impose their will as to forms of government or political policy upon the people of any other country in the world. They do think there is a great responsibility on themselves, and all Americans, on our statesmen and our national leaders, to suggest policies and work out arrangements so that every American may have just what every American wants—a job, a living, a right to live, a right to dream of a safe old age, a right to educate their children, a right to have economic and social and political security. That is what we want here in America.

My friends, it has been a matter of profound gratification that you have done me the honor here today to come out to this great meeting. . . . Many of you have a long way to go to return to your respective homes, but I want you to go with this thought in mind, that only through organization, through expression of your crystallized viewpoint in the labor organizations of this country, and in the great liberal organizations of this country, can you expect to bring any pressure on the modern trend of the forces in power, except by exercising that collective strength, which after all, is the crystallized voice of all of you.

Your leaders, no matter who they may be, have no weapon but your confidence. Their voice is weak, unless they say what is in your hearts, and they can only do those things that you make manifest you want them to do, and support those policies which in your heart and in your mind, and out of the trials and tribulations and the problems of your everyday life you have made clear that you want accomplished in this country.

My own voice, my own words, would not be listened to in this country, not printed in any newspaper, not sent over any radio, unless the people of this country believed that I was speaking for you, speaking for these young men here who want to come into life, and have a participation, speaking for the old men who are looking forward to those days when they are going to be dispossessed of jobs, and know not how they will live, speaking for these men and these girls, speaking for you all; and when I have ceased speaking for you, nobody need take any action about it, because my strength will be gone, and no one will listen to me.

But it is only when I speak for you, because I have lived as you, I have lived in a company house, I know the problems of the worker in this country, I have lived it, I know it; I know you think I know it. You tell me what to do, and with your strength I will carry on, and with your strength we will win.

JOHN L. LEWIS.

You Can't Skin the Furriers

Unionism is on trial—on indictments filed six and a half years ago. Turning the Anti-Trust Act into an anti-labor act.

Not many New Yorkers know that for the past seven weeks one of the most important trials in contemporary legal history has been taking place in the federal courthouse facing Foley Square. There eighteen defendants face judge and jury. They are youngish and typically metropolitan in appearance—moderately well dressed. At first glance they seem to be young businessmen facing a trio of professional prosecutors exceptionally eager to win convictions. Above the defendants sits a judge whose justice seems somewhat uneven-handed, whose decisions as to points of law are too regularly against the defendants, as if he were eager to sentence them to prison.

Surely, the courtroom visitor might conclude, these defendants are probably clever criminals, trapped at last. They have conspired to defraud, to cheat, perhaps to use violence, even to kill. And now the majestic law of our land has stepped in to end their nefarious careers.

But if the courtroom visitor remains for a time he learns many curious facts. The eighteen defendants in the case of the United States vs. the International Fur and Leather Workers Union of the United States and Canada, CIO, are conducting a defense which is in fact an accusation. They are accusing the majestic forces of federal law of a conspiracy to smash a great and progressive union.

OLD INDICTMENTS

The fur workers' trial has moved these seven weeks like an illustrated lecture on the seamy side of American industrial life. Six and one-half years ago indictments were filed against the present defendants, charging them with violations of the Sherman Anti-Trust Act. For six and one-half years the indictments gathered dust in files, forgotten, in disrepute. Last September, officials of the fur workers' union were served with notices of trial. Significant was the fact that the case was revived in September, immediately after the beginning of the European war, when Frank Murphy was attorney general, when a nationwide drive was begun by the Roosevelt administration to undermine progressive organizations built with such effort during the preceding six and one-half years.

Since February 20 scores of witnesses have paraded before the federal jury and Judge William Bondy, whose deafness has not prevented him from taking a hand in the prosecution himself when the government's attorneys faltered in their examination of witnesses. And the government's witnesses—sleek, well tailored manufacturers, burly labor spies, barrel-chested ex-convicts, furtive sweatshop contractors linked to gangster mobs—faltered frequently. The defense, led by cool Louis B. Boudin, expert in constitutional law, has been brilliant in its counterattack, during which other manufacturers testified, as well as several score of workers, shop stewards, men who dye and process and work at the bench, hard-working, honest men. More recently hostile witnesses have been called by the defense: for example, the government's chief prosecutor, red-faced Barley W. Henderson and special rackets prosecutor John Harlan Amen. Like a coarse thread running through fine fabric has been the interplay between the chief legal actors—clumsy Henderson with his weak, tenuously fabricated case, aging Judge Bondy with his skillful aid to the prosecution.

GOVERNMENT WITNESS RECANTS

Wild melodrama has sometimes shocked the courtroom into tense awareness of the plot against the defendants, as on the day when William Karpouzas, one of the government's choice assortment of stoolpigeons and turncoats, suddenly recanted his entire testimony from the witness stand. Here was an unexpected twist, a shocker in the midst of casual testimony about murder and mayhem, knifings and bombings—all part of the campaign of violence against the union from 1931 to 1933, the period covered by the indictment.

If I were privileged to write an adventure story about the fur industry, I might point my words toward that climactic moment when Karpouzas cried:

"Your Honor, I want to make a statement."

For hours, Karpouzas had poured forth a gruesome story of how Ben Gold, Irving Potash, and Jack Schneider—union leaders—had met with a "union committee," had handed them "spring knives" and had assigned them to jobs with instructions to "use your own methods if they don't want to come down to the union peacefully"—instructions to cut up furs, throw stench bombs, acid.

Karpouzas now spoke to a tense courtroom: "I want to make a full confession that my testimony was engineered by Mr. Soulounias and Mr. Whelan. It was Mr. Soulounias who brought me here to testify to Whelan. I don't want to be a stooge for anybody. I wouldn't be a stoolpigeon for anybody. . . ."

Assistant United States District Attorney Whelan, police spy Soulounias, were thus the accused. The defense turned upon them and has continued to turn upon these agents of the law to show that the furriers' union officials are being prosecuted because they have brought peace to the fur industry, have helped to abolish sweatshops and the contracting evil, have driven out the gangsters, have increased the workers' pay and security of employment.

Keep two factors in mind as you try to dig

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beneath the surface of this complex case: the economic issue and the political issue. For these factors have been concealed by the mass of testimony, indeed cannot be brought before the court. Ever since the first attempts to organize the fur industry, as long ago as 1910, bitter warfare has been waged between the employers and their workers, warfare which at times has broken out into guerrilla street fighting, which has involved such notorious underworld characters as Lepke and Gurrah. Unionization was long and bitterly fought by ladies' garment and men's clothing manufacturers. They were defeated and industrial contracts were won by the unions as a result of general strike activity. The furriers—divided into three categories of merchants, dressers and dyers, and manufacturers—comprised many small businessmen, few of whom have banking connections. They have been split among themselves, they fought against each other, but from time to time united to combat unionization in their industry.

BEN GOLD'S LEADERSHIP

Today the fur industry is 98 percent organized. The men who brought about unionization are Ben Gold, Irving Potash, Sam Burt, Jack Schneider, and others of the eighteen now on trial. Ben Gold, now president of the international, has been active in the labor movement since 1912; his life work was crowned with success during the six and one-half year period in which the indictment against him gathered dust. It was Gold who won for workers in the manufacturing shops the forty-hour week in the long strike of 1926, and who was expelled for his trouble together with the entire New York local by the AFL bureaucrats. Between 1927 and 1934, two unions existed side by side: the independent joint board headed by Gold, comprising the overwhelming majority, and the AFL union, without following among the fur workers.

At the pit of the depression occurred events that resulted in the present indictments. Successful unionization frequently depends upon broad industrial contracts. In 1931 Gold's independent local of the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union looked forward to the inclusion of dyers, dressers and all other workers as an ultimate goal. In 1931 a few employers conceived the plan of copying the tactics of bootleggers, hiring gangsters to set up racket unions and protective associations, driving thus at one and the same time against their workers and their rival processors. Unquestionably the tactic developed as a result of contact on the part of employers with underworld gentry who were used as picketline smashers in the 1926 strike.

A leader for the terror campaign was swashbuckling Abraham Beckerman, expelled for racketeering from his post as manager of the New York joint board of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. Beckerman was engaged to act as a go-between with Lepke and Gurrah. Soon he evolved a price-fixing racket with a rake-off; he tried by violence to force all fur dressing firms into a small "protected" association; he sought to capture the AFL local, and to entrench himself astride and athwart the entire industry.

One force smashed the racket. That force was the left wing union, including the eighteen leaders now on trial. To destroy the independents, Beckerman and his gunmen committed a series of crimes unparalleled for brutality in the history of racketeering. They bombed and killed several men, blinded a fur dealer with acid, clubbed employers and dealers, injured and crippled scores of others. Tammany Hall was then in control of the police of New York; scant attention was paid to complaints.

Despite the terror, the fur workers rallied to defend their union. Trimming workers struck and won. Rabbit dressers struck and won. Dressers and dyers struck and won. Steadily the workers defeated their enemies.

The racketeers and their backers were enraged. They issued ultimatums, sent crude warnings, plotted, schemed. Suddenly they attacked. Morris Langer, left wing organizer in the dressing and dyeing field, was murdered as the result of a bomb explosion in his automobile.

The union fought to bring the murderers to justice. It appealed to mayor, police commissioner, Manhattan's district attorney, America's attorney general—in vain. It listed and recounted the tale of assault, battery, murder—in vain. The murderers of Morris Langer went unpunished.

THE GANGSTERS ATTACK

The gangsters were drunk with power. One day they conceived the idea of invading the union headquarters at 131 West 28th St. and carrying out a mass slaughter of the leadership. Armed with knives, guns, and clubs they set forth in broad midday. They reached the first floor of the building. Meantime trade union Paul Reveres raced into Seventh Avenue with news of the invasion. From the street corners where they were chatting after lunch the fur workers poured into 28th Street to defend their leaders. A riot broke out. When it ended, seven gangsters lay in the gutter, one worker had been shot, a gangster shot by gangster cross fire, a score of workers knifed. Here, in the photographs of notorious criminals lying on the pavement, was proof of the terror ring's existence. The police were goaded into action. A citizens' committee roused inept local prosecutor Judge Crane. Digging into the facts the sluggish law-defenders found that Lepke and Gurrah were associated with Beckerman in a conspiracy to coerce employers and workers alike. The two gunmen were arrested and brought to justice. On the witness stand against them testified Irving Potash, Sam Burt, Julius Weil—defendants in the current case.

Victory in the street battle roused the fur workers. They swarmed into the independent locals. They laid the foundation of the present industrial union, founded a great united trade union front in 1935, joined the CIO two years later, admitted fifteen thousand leather workers to their ranks in 1939. They have ended the sweatshops in which they worked seventy to eighty hours a week for from $10 to $12. Gone are the contractors who operated these hell holes. Pay scales now provide a decent living. Gangsters no longer infest the fur center of Seventh Avenue. In a great strike in 1938 unionists won a model contract which minimized friction throughout the industry. They enjoy all the benefits of a progressive industrial union: welfare, education, cultural activity, sports.

Is that why their leaders are being prosecuted by the government? Yes. And also for broader political reasons.

The indictment is based upon the Sherman anti-trust law. The defendants are not accused of pricefixing; they are not accused of racketeering. They are accused of coercion in restraint of interstate trade. Let's examine this last nice point. Attempts were made by the prosecution to prove that Ben Gold and his associates had used coercion to prevent employers of labor from dealing with A. Hollander & Son, one of the largest manufacturers in the trade. The coercion, it was alleged, consisted of violence. But there was and is ample proof that the violence was done by the racketeering gangsters, who represented employers and who were trying to dominate the AFL union. Stoolpigeons sought to pin terrorism on the independent unionists. But the stoolpigeons' own allies, men like Karpouzas, and the state's witness, Mandelbaum, either recanted or refused to testify.

Driven back from this attack, the federal prosecutors have attempted to prove that strikes called during the period of terror by the independent union were, in point of fact, coercion in restraint of trade. The implication of this contention, which has been supported by Judge Bondy, is that plans for a strike to promote collective bargaining and against union-smashing employers' tactics, are in effect conspiracy in restraint of interstate trade. Such strikes would be barred in any industry which operates across state lines. Such strikes would be barred therefore in all basic industries. It now becomes clear that the government is utilizing this old, forgotten set of indictments to establish a legal club against strikes of all but a local, intrastate nature. The cloakmaker who works in a 38th Street shop in New York City which ships goods to Jersey City thus cannot strike. Conspiracy—coercion—this is the interpretation placed upon such action by Mr. Henderson and his judge.

Even the allegation of a coercive strike has been disproved. It was the employers who used coercion in 1933, who posted notices on bulletin boards ordering their employees to join the AFL union. The workers refused to betray their union. In some cases they struck —against coercion.

But what does a little fact or two matter—in a labor case? Prosecutor has fought and judge has sustained his contention that the records in the Lepke-Gurrah case as well as records of strikes against coercion are "irrele-

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vant" to the issue now before the court.

Federal District Attorney Cahill frequently sits in the courtroom. He was the brave general in the warfare against Communist leaders on charges of technical passport irregularities. Because of the length of the case Mr. Cahill has not been able to devote time to the actual prosecution. But he is under orders to observe and to aid his assistants. For this is an important case—politically. The fur and leather workers' international is in the forefront of the trade union anti-war drive. It stands in a leading position in the progressive counterattack of the CIO against the Roosevelt administration and it is growing. It contains not only a large bloc of Jewish voters, but thousands of Italians, Greeks, Pennsylvania Dutch, native-born Americans. It has taught its polyglot membership true democratic Americanism.

THE POLITICAL ISSUE

There is another reason why Mr. Roosevelt's legal staff wants to send Ben Gold and his colleagues to jail. Tom Dewey was the special prosecutor named to clean up the fur mess. He prosecuted Lepke and Gurrah. He smashed the gang—thanks to testimony by Gold, Potash, Burt. Later, when he became district attorney of New York County, he showed his hand by prosecuting union officials for "coercion" in 1939 and succeeded in winning a conviction against Jack Schneider. The Schneider case is now under appeal. Dewey the racket-buster became Dewey the union-buster. Primary results already indicate that Dewey may be Roosevelt's rival in the coming election campaign. Roosevelt is proving, by the zeal of his lawyers in the fur union trial, that he can crack down on unions too.

Like little figurines in the flat background are the few paunchy, overfed manufacturers who hired the racketeers in 1931, who testified against the unionists in 1940. They have quite a tidy little stake in the case. The union won a model contract from them by the 1938 strike. The agreement runs out on Feb. 15, 1941. They hope—oh, how they hope—that Ben Gold and those powerful friends of the workers will be locked tight in some distant jail when time for negotiations rolls around.

You haven't read much about the fur trial in your local newspapers. Despite its drama, despite public interest, the press has been silent. As in the days when courageous fur workers destroyed gangster rule, an alarm is now being sounded. At the Furriers' Joint Council building on West 26th Street, where fur workers congregate to register, to attend classes, to meet for education or cultural activity, a worker said to me:

"No matter what happens down there in the courthouse—they can't smash us. We've learned." He nodded his head and smiled: "We've learned. We don't let any political splits bother us. We don't argue between ourselves. We know what the union did. Let's see 'em dare try to take the union away from us!"

JAMES MORISON.

I Never Found A Job

Milton Blau was born nineteen years ago in the land of unlimited opportunity. His Odyssey for work.

WHEN I was a kid, not long ago, there was a bunch of fellows who used to hang out in the candy store around the corner. Whenever I came in I would see them in the back of the store. Things haven't changed much since then, except that I've joined the bunch. We line the back wall most of the day, sometimes talking, sometimes dropping a couple of pennies into the pin-ball machine. Most of the time we don't do anything but look out into the street at passing automobiles.

I don't come to the store until about noon. I spend each morning looking for a job. The fellows at the store tell me that I'll soon tire of that. They used to look for work too, they say. Each afternoon they ask me if I've had any luck and offer me new ideas, suggesting one factory or another, or a "good" employment agency. When I start out in the morning I buy the *Times* for want ads which leaves me 22 cents of the quarter that my father allows me. Once in a while there is an ad offering a job that I can qualify for. I am unable to qualify for most jobs; I'm a high-school graduate with a general education and a year and a half of college.

Not long ago I almost got a job as an errand boy for a dress house. There were only three of us left after an hour of talk and elimination. The boss took us into his office one at a time. He spoke to me for what I thought was a long time. He asked me how old I was and how much schooling I had, if I were willing to work: I was everything he wanted. Then he said that this wasn't a job for me, that a boy like me deserved something. This was a job for someone who didn't deserve anything better. You're too bright to work for $10 a week, he told me. Then he suggested that I leave my name and address and when they had a position for a capable fellow like myself, they'd call me. I tried to tell him that I didn't care about the kind of work I did, but he had already pushed me to the door and said good morning.

Every Monday I try the factories. The "No Help Wanted" signs seems to be as permanent a part of the buildings as the cornerstones. Every second day I try the employment agencies. At first I tried those on Sixth Avenue; between Twentieth and Forty-first streets there are about four to a block. They have bulletins on the street entrance listing the jobs offered. Most of the jobs are for domestics and skilled men. I noticed one sign that said, "Plumber Wanted—Six Dollars A Day"; I noticed the same sign there for two weeks. There must be a shortage of plumbers in the city, I thought.

When I saw the notice on the bulletin board, "Boy Wanted—Drugstore" I ran right upstairs to the employment office. About forty people were sitting on wooden benches and waiting. I sat down and waited too. Some of the girls who seemed to know the ropes, had brought their knitting with them. After an hour had passed a man asked me to "step this way" and he took me into a little room that had a couple of chairs and a desk. I told him which job I wanted and he asked how much I was willing to pay for it. The pay was eight dollars a week and tips, hours from 10:00 to 10:00, meals free. He wanted $12 for the job; he had eight offers of $10 already. I explained that I had no money with me but that I would pay him $4 a week for three weeks as soon as I worked. On time payments, he said, he could get $20 for the job. I tried other agencies. In the "better" ones they said they'd let me know if anything turned up; I never had any spot cash. They filled out a card for me and filed it in a huge steel cabinet.

Now and then I replied by mail to the want ads in the paper. Last month I saw an ad that called for verse writers on high-class greeting cards. When I was in high school I used to write a great deal of poetry. I wrote a letter to "R-790" in verse. I received a letter a week later asking me to come down for an interview. It was for a greeting-card house just outside Greenwich Village. I dressed as well as I could. I hadn't had the money for a haircut for almost two months, so I guess I looked like a poet. I was interviewed. When he asked me what experience I had had in the line I didn't hesitate a minute. I told him that I had just come from out of town; I was new to New York. I gave him the name of the company in Connecticut that I was supposed to have worked for. He gave me an assignment of about 120 lines for which I was to receive 50 cents for each line accepted. It took me about ten hours to do the whole batch. Although he didn't take any of my verse he invited me to try again.

The best way to get a job, I'm told, is through people you know, friends who are working. I haven't many friends who work and those who do are looking for better jobs—jobs that pay $15 to $18 a week. If they find better jobs we take their old ones. That's the agreement we have, but it doesn't work. So few of us get jobs, let alone better jobs.

I spend very little time at home with my family. Many times I intentionally avoid having supper. After so many months of looking, it becomes hard to listen to their sermons about how there's a job for everyone who really wants one, who really tries hard. My father tells me to try this agency or that agency, try the department stores. I tell him that they ask for money; he says any time you need money come to me. My father is a

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taxi driver who owns his cab. I know my father cannot give me money, not $10 or $12. For the last couple of weeks he's been averaging about $2 a day. Once I heard him say that if things didn't pick up he'd run his cab into an El pillar.

My mother is the hardest on me. She pleads with me to get a job. Any kind of a job at all, at any salary at all, as long as I can keep myself. She tells me how little my father earns and if, God forbid, anything happens to him we are lost. Sometimes I feel that my mother doesn't think I try, sometimes she hints that I'm not too anxious to find work. When she does this I become angry and shout at her and for days after I avoid speaking to her. My sister knows how I feel because she looked for work for a long time before she found any. Many times I hear her whisper to my mother to let me alone. Now and then she gives me a dollar to have a good time. I rarely ask her for money but I smoke most of her cigarettes.

Fat has a job in a parking lot down town and near the river. He's the night "manager." It isn't a very big lot; he's the only one there nights. He works from 8:00 to 8:00. He makes $12 a week. When Fat first got the job he was glad, but after a few weeks he complained it was too lonely. He said he would go nuts after a while. Fat's brother Chiz asked us in the candy store to run over to the lot at night and chew the rag and keep Fat company. Chiz said he was afraid Fat would quit. Their father was a peddler and Fat was a mainstay of the family since Chiz wasn't working. It was a good idea. It gave us a new place to hang out at and it kept Fat happy.

When we hang out with Fat during the night, he sends out for a container of beer. We smoke and drink the beer and have a fairly nice time around the stove in the shack on the lot. Some of the fellows who used to work still have their old girl friends. Fat lets them sit in the cars on the lot. They can put on the radio and the heater and there's a lot of privacy in a car.

I think that if I don't get a job soon I'll have to stop looking. My clothes are beginning to wear out; my pants are shiny from too much sitting. I haven't bought any new clothes since last summer. I'm not a very well dressed young man any more. Being neat is important for all jobs. I still shave every day but I suppose people don't see your face when your hat looks like it's been sat on and your coat as though it had been put through a wringer. I've got a summer suit that's practically new; if it were summer I could leave my hat and coat at home and make the rounds in style.

One of the boys came back from the CCC's a couple of weeks ago. He feels bad. He can't get used to doing nothing. Chiz says that's the worst way to be. Once you've worked and had money in your pocket, being broke and being idle is like being hungry. You can only be hungry so long, he says.

I'm getting tired of chasing after jobs that aren't there. The chances on the pin-ball machine seem better. Sometimes I wish I were back at school and yet I know I can't go back. I try to read books or take long walks but I always go back to the candy store and watch the lights go on and off on the pin-ball machine. Hanging around the store on Saturdays and Sundays isn't so bad. The fellows who work drop in on weekends to kill a couple of hours. They hand out cigarettes while they're there. Most of the time they're in good spirits and when they're around we can laugh. When we are left by ourselves we don't laugh. We line the back wall by the pin-ball machine, shoulders stooping, like old men with young faces. Bitter faces.

MILTON BLAU.

Batter Up

THE mimic warfare of baseball is about to begin. In the American League seven have-nots, from the Yawkey Boston Red Sox millionaires to the indigent St. Louis Browns, are seeking unity to defeat the tyrannical New York Yankees. All winter long the combined forces of the underdogs have schemed to end the four-year-long Yankee reign of pennants and world championships. The issue is clear—the Yankees, they say, must go!

In the older National League all eyes are on the impoverished Dodgers, parvenus to the upper circles of baseball society. Is this a Brooklyn year? Will monopoly baseball, represented by the St. Louis Cardinal chain store system, be defeated? Will radio tycoon Crosley's Cincinnati Reds repeat? Or will the tatterdemalion Dodgers, inspired by the huzzahs of their million supporters, crash through, to prove that in America the little man can still win . . . in baseball?

Such are the outlines of that internecine conflict which breaks out next Tuesday at 3:15 p.m., not rain but shine. The fans will be glad to gather again before the green turf of the infield, to relax in balmy spring, to watch the baffling curves of the strongarm hurlers, to look with awe at the lusty drives of DiMaggio, Foxx, and the eternally youthful Melville Ott. Players may chafe at contracts, Czar Landis may fight the baseball trust in his own quondam-Standard-Oil style. To the fans it's a game, the great American folk game, which like spring, renews youth, renews hope.

Winsome Wendell Willkie

AS AGAINST the Republican ladies who think Mr. Dewey is awfully cute there are those, like Dorothy Thompson, who prefer Wendell Willkie's "winsome temper." Dorothy and the *Wall Street Journal* are promoting him as a new note in politics, a liberal public-utilities president. Last week he officially threw his silk hat in the ring, saying, "My only quarrel with Communism is that it is too reactionary." Before that he appeared in the *New Republic* of March 18 in defense of civil liberties (with subtle emphasis on the inviolable rights of utility men and bankers) and in *Fortune,* presenting a "platform for the people" that features bigger and better business in government.

Some eight years ago Owen D. Young was the utilities' Man in Liberal Mask. Mr. Young, however, was smoother. Sometimes you had to read three paragraphs of his speeches before the mask fell off; a few sentences of Mr. Willkie's are enough. In announcing his candidacy the Commonwealth & Southern chief presented a three-point solution of all economic problems: curb the NLRB and SEC; modify tax laws to encourage investment; and change government's attitude toward business. These myths are certainly not new—remember Hoover, Garner, Landon, Colonel Knox? And the point becomes rather too apparent in the light of news reports that the SEC is investigating a Commonwealth & Southern unit. Still it isn't the cellophane quality of Winsome Wendell's liberalism (which compares well with Dewey's and FDR's), but his lack of a political machine and lateness in entering the race that are likely to disqualify him. Even so, he bears watching: he can be a danger.

Susquehanna Flood

ONE by one, the blunders of Arthur "Breaker Boy" James, Pennsylvania's Republican governor, catch up with him. His biggest boner thus far came riding down the flooded Susquehanna River, and if matters had been left to the grace of God, central Pennsylvania's anthracite region today would be a scene of death, disease, and devastation. This year's spring floods, which came within two inches of the destructive St. Patrick's Day floods of 1936, were made only a minor matter, however, because under the recent Democratic administration WPA workers built hundreds of dikes and levees. The dikes met their first test this year, and they held. As for James, the blunder that caught up with him had to do with flood control. Two weeks after taking office in 1939, he "economized" by wiping out a $3,000,000 flood control appropriation the Democrats had made. James visited the flood areas, and when he saw business disrupted and 25,000 refugees, it finally dawned on him that his "economy" was not consistent with the public welfare. At any rate, he promised to present a flood control program to next year's legislature. The one good thing this year's Susquehanna flood did was to wash out any hope James might have had for the Republican presidential nomination.

Memo to Foreign Agents

"MOST Americans will be profoundly thankful, we are confident, that Mr. Sumner Welles has set sail from Europe with no fatal damage done to the Allied cause."—*Editorial entitled "A Sigh of Relief," New York "Herald Tribune."*

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A N E D I T O R I A L A R T I C L E

Mr. Dies: Arch Conspirator

He claims his drive is against Communists—but he aims to coerce millions. Shall all progressives go on a vast blacklist?

THE Fourth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States declares:

The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

In recent weeks this amendment, part of the Bill of Rights, has been grossly violated by the Dies committee and the Federal Bureau of Investigation. The committee's raids on Communist Party headquarters in Pittsburgh, Boston, Baltimore, and Philadelphia have blazed a dark trail of legalized vigilantism that renders insecure "in their persons, houses, papers, and effects" every freeborn American. Though this activity claims to be directed at Communism, it is actually a conspiracy to coerce millions. This is the technique of fascism.

The Dies committee demands the membership lists of the Communist Party. There is nothing in the resolution creating the committee which empowers it to make any such demand. There is nothing in the law of the land which gives any committee authority to inquire into the political beliefs or affiliations of citizens. The action of the Dies committee in demanding these membership lists and in citing for contempt Communist leaders who refuse to reveal this information, is flagrantly unconstitutional. The committee wants these names in order to provide employers and the government with a blacklist. J. Edgar Hoover has his card index system, Martin Dies seeks a vast blacklist that begins —but does not end—with the Communist Party. These are Gestapo tactics.

BLACKLIST TACTIC

The Dies committee is trying to legalize its illegal practices by introducing a bill requiring organizations with "international affiliations" to register and file their membership lists. That eminent liberal stooge, Rep. Jerry Voorhis, is collaborating with Dies in constructing this new legal straitjacket. A law of this kind would obviously hit not only the Communists, but the Catholic Church, the Masons, and many other conservative organizations.

Typical of the methods of the Texas fuehrer—who was elected by the vote of only 4 percent of the population of his district—was the Philadelphia raid. On April 2, two Dies investigators and twenty-five policemen raided the offices of the Communist Party and the International Workers Order in that city. The raiders acted not under the authority vested in the Dies committee by Congress, but under a state sedition law passed in 1919 and rarely used. The warrant was issued by a Philadelphia magistrate and specified that all papers and documents seized must be returned to him for disposition. The two Dies committee agents, however, lost no time in violating this provision by rushing the material to Washington. On April 4 federal Judge George A. Welsh requested that no use be made of the documents until he had ruled on a petition for their recovery. Chairman Dies ignored this request and hurriedly had them placed in the committee's record. Asked why he had done this, Dies replied: "It's a *fait accompli*. The matter is now academic. I don't see how we can now give them up. It is out of our control."

But civil liberties are not an academic matter. For millions of Americans they are as important as air and food. And despite Dies, the destruction of civil liberties has not yet become in this country what it is in Germany, Italy, France: a *fait accompli*. In Philadelphia Martin Dies overreached himself. The action of Judge Welsh in ordering the arrest of the two Dies investigators and Detective Lieutenant Albert Granitz is a rebuke to the Dies committee. The warrant for their arrest, issued after evidence of illegal actions was presented by officials and attorneys for the Communist Party and the International Workers Order, charges "conspiracy to violate the Bill of Rights and the civil liberties statutes." Besides the organizations directly involved, attorneys for the International Labor Defense, the Philadelphia Civil Liberties Union, and the Committee for People's Rights also appeared in court and urged action. "Not to issue the warrants in this case would be to put the seal of approval on what has been done," said Judge Welsh.

The Philadelphia raids have an interesting background which reveals the essential unity of purpose between Republicans and Democrats. On March 27, less than a week before the raids, Dies addressed the annual dinner of the Port of Philadelphia Maritime Society on the subject of "Communists in the Maritime Union." The Texas Democrat was invited by Joseph N. Pew, Jr., Republican boss of Pennsylvania. Seated at the main table were two other Pews, J. Edgar and J. Howard, officials of the union-busting Sun Shipyard at Chester, Pa. The toastmaster at this labor-baiting spree was Rear Admiral Emory S. Land (retired), chairman of the US Maritime Commission, a Roosevelt appointee. In introducing Dies Admiral Land said: "He is a man who has proved the end justifies the means."

WHAT DIES WANTS

What ends is Dies seeking that justify his violations of the Bill of Rights? That question must be asked not only of Dies, but of every member of Congress and of the Roosevelt administration. Every sincere liberal must face the fact that the activities of Hoover's FBI and the Dies committee would not be possible without the complicity of the White House. Even the American Civil Liberties Union, which has been disposed to defend Henry Ford, has found it necessary to point out in a statement just issued:

Responsibility for certain of the activities in recent months of the Department of Justice, and particularly of the FBI, is to be laid at the door of the President, who last September authorized the issuance of an order requiring investigation of "subversive activities" by the FBI.

The prosecutions instituted by the Department of Justice under Frank Murphy, who praised the activities of the Dies committee as "educational," and the FBI's vendetta against civil liberties have given the green light to the Dies committee and to every antidemocratic agency in the country. In the South the Ku Klux Klan is reviving, terrorizing Negroes and the labor movement. In western Pennsylvania, on the heels of the Dies raids, a drunken mob entered a private home and kidnapped Anthony Minerich, Communist, while he was addressing a small group of miners. In Pittsburgh police arrested and manhandled John L. Spivak at the instigation of Edward F. Sullivan, former Dies committee investigator, and of unknown but influential persons who owe their allegiance to Royal Oak and Berlin. These are the products of the mounting tensions in our country. War lurks in the Pandora's box of the remodeled New Deal. What price liberty when carnage is being prepared?

Rep. Matthew Dunn of Pennsylvania has requested the Civil Liberties Division of the Department of Justice to start an investigation of violations of civil liberties by the Dies committee. The International Workers Order has launched a nationwide campaign to enlist popular support for such an investigation. Last Sunday nearly ten thousand people at a mass meeting in Cleveland demanded a halt to the activities of Dies and his committee stormtroopers. Prominent writers and public figures are echoing this demand. The Bill of Rights belongs to the people. Dies and G-Man Hoover can both be stopped.

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Why Spivak Was Arrested

His Book "Secret Armies" was too hot for several gentlemen including Mr. Edward F. Sullivan. The "law" in Pittsburgh.

MONDAY evening, March 25, John L. Spivak addressed an audience of over two thousand people at the Pittsburgh Community Forum. As he concluded his speech and stepped from the platform to an anteroom, four police officers appeared, together with Edward Francis Sullivan, former Dies committee investigator. The officers informed Spivak that he was under arrest, charged with criminal libel, and showed him the warrant sworn out by Sullivan; Spivak, in his book, *Secret Armies,* had charged that Sullivan was a Nazi propagandist and a drunk, who had received six months for larceny in Massachusetts. Spivak promptly asked where he would be taken, so that bond could be arranged. He was told, "No. 4," the Oakland police station in the precinct where the meeting had been held. As he walked out with the officers and Sullivan, an attorney, I. Edward Roth, came up and said he would like to go along as a lawyer interested in protecting the prisoner's rights. The officers turned on him angrily and said, "Get the hell out of here or we'll pull you in too." The warrant was sworn out in Coraopolis, a tightly controlled little industrial center fourteen miles from Pittsburgh; why it was sworn out fourteen miles away has not yet been explained.

POLICE BRUTALITY

During the ride to the police station the arresting officers constantly addressed Sullivan as "Ed." Instead of taking Spivak to police station No. 4, they pulled up around the corner from the station and started to hustle him into another car. It was plain to Spivak that this was to prevent anyone from tracing him, so that when bondsmen came to police station No. 4 the people in charge could legitimately say that they had no knowledge of his being booked there—that, in fact, they had never heard of him. Spivak quietly insisted that he be taken into No. 4 and booked. One of the officers promptly twisted his arms and said, "You get in that car, you son of a bitch." Spivak retorted, "You can put me in the car but you'll have to do it when I'm unconscious. You book me first in No. 4." There was a slight struggle, then one of the officers from Coraopolis said, "Why don't we take him into No. 4 and get it over with?" The enraged officers, twisting Spivak's arms again, marched him into No. 4 and threw him into the back of the cell. One of them began to beat him around the head, saying, "So you are the son of a bitch who wrote *Shrine of the Silver Dollar.*" When another officer came in to see why the prisoner was being struck around the head, the man who was doing the beating explained, "That's the bastard who has been attacking Father Coughlin." The man in charge of the station poked his head in while the arresting officers were trying to maneuver Spivak to stand with his back against a stone wall. The purpose of this trick, as the prisoner knew from his newspaper experience, is to cause the victim's head to hit the wall when he is struck. Spivak stepped away from the wall and said to the officer in charge of No. 4, "I am apparently under arrest and I insist that I be booked. I also want the name and shield number of this officer because I want to prefer charges of assault and battery against him."

"You do, huh?" said the cop who was slapping Spivak around, and hit the prisoner over the head again. He told the officer at No. 4 that Spivak was being taken to Coraopolis and the officer said, "All right, take him."

At Sullivan's suggestion they handcuffed their prisoner, then rushed him out to the other car. Sullivan got into the automobile with the Coraopolis policemen. "Is the complainant an arresting officer?" Spivak asked, "And if not, what is he doing in this car?" The Coraopolis officer then turned to Sullivan and said, "What the hell are you doing here? Get out."

As the prisoner walked into the Coraopolis station he again asked to be booked, and again the request was refused. He asked to use the phone to call counsel and was told, "No outside calls are allowed." When he called attention to the illegality of denying him the right to call counsel the sergeant at the station said, "Aw shove him in there and lock him up."

Meanwhile, the Pittsburgh *Post Gazette*—which must have had advance knowledge of the arrest, since its star reporter and cameraman were on the spot—had the story in detail, with photographs. In this story, which was carried over the country by the Associated Press, Spivak's protest against the shift of car became a yell: "Help, police, they're taking me for a ride." The *Post Gazette,* in every story about the arrest, has called Spivak a Communist author and propagandist—thereby laying the basis for a Red scare against anyone who might come to his assistance.

Three hours after the prisoner was locked up he was released on $5,000 bail, an unheard of amount for a misdemeanor. In the same jail were alleged burglars and rapists whose bail had been set at $2,000 to $3,000.

Back in New York the next morning, Spivak was informed by his Pittsburgh attorney over the phone that the district attorney's office was raising hell about the bond and wanted a different one. The DA's office in Pittsburgh also insisted on his presence at the posting of the bond although normally bond can be posted without the prisoner himself being present. Spivak arrived in Pittsburgh on the morning of March 30. His attorneys wanted to place the bond with the DA instead of going to Coraopolis, which was legally permissible, but the district attorney's office refused to accept the bond without an okay from the Coraopolis justice of the peace and that gentleman just couldn't be found although he sent word to his secretary that he would be in his office at 7:00 that night.

When Spivak and his attorneys appeared at Coraopolis with the new bond, two officers came over and said, "You are under arrest, charged with being a fugitive from justice from the state of Kansas." The complaint had come in a telegram from Kurt Sepmeier, an instructor in German at the University of Wichita; in *Secret Armies* Spivak had accused Sepmeier of working closely with Gerald Winrod, notorious Nazi propagandist.

Spivak was handcuffed so tightly that his hands immediately began to swell. When the two officers saw this they turned to each other and asked if there were a key to unlock the handcuffs; both of them grinned and said No. It was three hours before the bracelets were removed.

PRESSURE ON BONDSMEN

Spivak's attorneys and bondsmen followed him to the sheriff's office in Pittsburgh and offered to put up bond in any sum for his release. The officials said they would not accept bond. When the attorneys got hold of a judge for a writ of habeas corpus, an officer in the sheriff's office phoned the judge and advised him not to issue it. Not until the following afternoon, Sunday, was a writ of habeas corpus issued, returnable on Monday, and Spivak released. In court on Monday the district attorney again said the bond was worthless, and ordered Spivak remanded to jail until satisfactory bond was supplied. Pressure was immediately put upon anyone who wanted to furnish bond. Coughlinites telephoned the bondsmen and in one case threatened to blow up the man's home. Finally a courageous bondsman with property so clear that the DA had to accept it, put up $7,000 for Spivak's release, pending the arrival of officers to extradite the prisoner from Pennsylvania to Kansas.

But libel is not an extraditable offense and Spivak was not a fugitive from justice from Kansas. It is obvious that the terrific pressure brought on the district attorney not to release Spivak, the threats made against those who wanted to furnish his bond, and the persistent campaign charging him with being a Communist author and propagandist were shrewdly engineered in order to drive away those who would rush to Spivak's aid. Just who is behind this drive is still not clear. But America's ace reporter is in danger. Reactionary forces who do not like his pen, who could not stand his brave exposure of Coughlin in NEW MASSES are out to get him. They must not succeed. PAUL G. MCMANUS.

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This being census week
Here are a
few questions
We'd like to
pin on a
few guys —

William Gropper

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NEW MASSES
ESTABLISHED 1911

Editors
A. B. MAGIL, RUTH MCKENNEY, JOSEPH NORTH.

Associate Editors
JAMES DUGAN, BARBARA GILES.

Business Manager
CARL BRISTEL.

West Coast Representative
GEORGE WILLNER.

★

The War Spreads

AS WE go to press, news comes that the German army has occupied Denmark and has seized Oslo, the capital of Norway. This comes in reply to an Allied effort to involve Norway in the war on their side. It is the Nazi answer to the British mining of Norwegian territorial waters. The general strategy of the Allied powers was to create a front for action against Germany other than the French frontier. Every American will sorrow at the fate of Denmark and Norway and, more than that, at the fact that the European war is obviously continuing to extend the area of combat. In our opinion the responsibility for the extension of the imperialist war into Scandinavia is the joint responsibility of Germany and the Allied powers. No propaganda on whose was the first move must obscure that fact for the American people. No consideration of immediate sympathy can conceal the truth that British policy has placed Norway in the position of joining Britain's side against its will. It is equally obvious that Germany has taken action in protection of its own flank in the Baltic, also desiring to make the field of combat soil other than its own. Obviously, there is an immediate danger that Sweden also will be involved, a possibility which creates unforeseeable dangers for the Soviet Union.

In the light of the Scandinavian developments the significance of the unexpected Soviet-Finnish peace treaty becomes clearer. One of the major objectives of the Soviet Union was to forestall the imminent possibility of the war spreading to Scandinavia. The generosity of the Soviet Union's peace terms was to win over the governments of Sweden and Norway and pull them back from the war precipice toward which their British, French, and American "friends" were pushing them via Finnish intervention. Instead of cooperating with the Soviet effort to save Scandinavia from being drawn into the war, the Swedish and Norwegian Social Democrats rewarded the Soviet Union by official talk of a "defensive alliance" with Finland aimed, as the whole world knew, against the Soviet Union. War has come to the Scandinavian countries, but not from the direction that they pretended to fear most. It has come from their Allied "friends" whom they trusted, and from Nazi Germany, on whom they relied to save them from the "Soviet menace." One need only contrast the resistance of Finland to the acquiescence of Denmark to realize that it is socialism which Social Democracy dreads most.

No American can be happy about the policy of our government. It has been the Roosevelt diplomacy to encourage both the Scandinavian countries and the Allied powers to extend the theater of war into the North. This encouragement was typified by the Roosevelt agitation over Finland. It was demonstrated by the Export-Import Bank loans to Sweden and Norway and the enormous increase of arms, aircraft, and munitions shipments to these countries from the United States. Instead of working to limit the war the American government has encouraged its extension. The outcome of such a policy has been brought home to the peoples of Denmark and Norway. It must be brought home to the people of the United States that their government also bears responsibility for the extension of the war. These Roosevelt policies can lead to the involvement of the American people itself.

After the Nazi White Book

MOST of the discussion on the Nazi White Book obscures its significance. It is unimportant whether or not the documents taken from the former Polish Embassy are true in every detail. Their main outlines are generally admitted to be authentic; neutral observers have seen the documents; French newspapers accept their validity; Drew Pearson and Robert S. Allen, Washington commentators, say that denials of their authenticity must be "taken with fourteen grains of salt." The important thing is this: The administration and its major ambassadors in Europe have already committed this country to war. Without asking the American people, they have staked our lives and resources in the effort to keep European imperialism afloat. Their only consideration seems to be when to go in, and on what terms. But to go in they have already decided. This is such a horrible fact that no American can afford to accept it as final. No American can afford to dismiss the White Book as "propaganda." For everything the administration has done since September confirms its general strategy as expressed by Ambassador Bullitt months before.

Cordell Hull and Mr. Roosevelt must be compelled to discuss their foreign policy before the people; they must not be allowed the pleasure of silence. Their policy is not, and cannot be, the policy of the American people.

Soviet Budget

FEW important newspapers thought Premier Molotov's speech on March 29 fit to print. Practically none of them gave it comment. If this reflects the embarrassment of the capitalist press with Molotov's ideas and tone, the same must be said of its reaction to the new Soviet budget. Yet the budget, just adopted by the Soviet parliament, has some important food for thought. Under socialist planned economy, there's no such thing as an unbalanced budget. Total government income next year reaches 183,000,000,000 rubles, an increase of 16 percent over the year before. But expenditures total 180,000,000,000: no fiscal headaches for the USSR! Defense expenditures have increased to 57,000,000,000 rubles, a boost of 38 percent, but the ratio of defense costs to the total budget has gone down to 31.5 percent: an important contrast with the experience of capitalist countries. Education and social service reaches 43,000,000,000 rubles; investment in national economy amounts to 57,000,000,000 rubles, another revealing comparison with capitalist nations where investments have stagnated for years. Productivity is expected to increase; costs will drop; production for sale, which means consumers' goods, will rise by 13.6 percent in the third year of the Third Five Year Plan. There are no such things as relief cuts in the USSR; there is, in fact, no unemployment. There are no heavy appropriations for servicing bonds and stocks, because the Soviet people have learned the secret of improving living standards without the services of a special class that owns the stocks and bonds. It is an open secret: socialism.

Trade Dilemma

BY A vote of forty-two to thirty-seven the Senate extended the trade agreements program until June 1943. The vote came after several unsuccessful attempts to limit the time-span of the program and give the Senate ratification power. The solid Republican opposition indicates that they will make trade agreements a major plank in their November platform. The Democrats were significantly divided. In the opposition of the Western senators, otherwise administration stalwarts, is reflected the dismay of farm voters with the continuing crisis in agricultural prices and exports.

The trade agreements program has become the governmental effort to push American trade preeminence in the world market. It is working out exclusively in the interests of monopoly industry: machine tools, chemicals, munitions, steel, and aircraft. For example, in February 1940 exports increased by 59 percent over the same month in 1939, but non-agricultural goods comprised $93,000,000 of the increase, leaving only $29,500,000 for farm produce. Such a situation is intensified by the wartime economic policies of the Allies, the reduction of European living standards, and the competition of strategic countries such as Canada, the Argentine, and Turkey.

The trend is therefore in the direction of greater American efforts to dominate world trade while domestic agriculture must be subsidized and Nazi trade methods introduced to foster our own farm exports. Ironically, the Senate passed the trade agreements program at a moment when the disorganization of world trade is greatest.

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They Can't Eat Cannon

Two hundred thousand fired this month, about 600,000 to go by July, and another 600,000 later—that's the story so far on WPA, which had only 2,311,512 people on its rolls at the end of March. But the story is by no means ended. Colonel Harrington, WPA commissioner, indicated in his testimony before the House Appropriations Committee that Roosevelt might be forced to revise his budget recommendations on WPA, from $985,000,000 to $1,250,000,000 or $1,500,000,000. The latter amount, about equal to last year's appropriation, is just half that proposed in Representative Marcantonio's American Fair Standards Bill to provide three million jobs at trade union standards. In a letter to FDR, Workers Alliance Pres. David Lasser called for passage of the Marcantonio bill and demanded that the current layoffs be stopped immediately. Similar demands have come from the CIO. The Alliance also asked for a national conference on unemployment, with leaders of business, agriculture, labor, unemployed, and the professions participating.

"Economy" boys in the House are trying threats. If demands for more funds continue, they may investigate WPA again; such an "investigation" last year brought the notorious Woodrum amendments. Or they may appropriate just enough to get through the November elections. The unemployed, however, have learned of this strategy in advance and have warned that they won't stand for it.

While the relief crisis sharpened, the House voted a $784,999,000 supply bill for the War Department, nicking about $68,000,000 from the budget estimate. Representative Marcantonio's motion to cut the appropriation 10 percent got only seventeen votes.

ALP Progressives Win

Last October 4 a meeting of delegates of assembly district clubs and affiliated organizations of the American Labor Party adopted a resolution sponsored by the state executive committee hailing the Allies as crusaders for democracy and denouncing the Soviet Union and the Communist Party. This was the signal for the launching of a campaign to purge the Labor Party of all who disagreed with the resolution.

Progressives pointed out at the time that the meeting which adopted this resolution had been packed and that the majority of the membership did not approve of making opinions on international questions a test of membership.

The members have just had their say. The results of the primaries on April 2 are an emphatic repudiation of the Rose-Dubinsky wrecking campaign. In New York City, which contains the bulk of the membership, the Progressive Committee to Rebuild the American Labor Party elected 210 out of 310 state committeemen. Among those defeated were Alex Rose, Paul Blanshard, chairman of the Red-baiting faction, and Ludwig Lore of the New York *Post*.

Results in the rest of the state are still in doubt, and both sides claim a majority of the state committee. But whatever happens upstate, the loss of New York City is a heavy blow to those who are attempting to convert the ALP into an appendage of the pro-war Roosevelt administration. The ALP has the opportunity of playing an important role in developing a nationwide third party movement dedicated to peace and the economic betterment of the masses of the people. This is the program already outlined by John L. Lewis and Labor's Non-Partisan League.

Other Primaries

A week before the Wisconsin primaries Thomas E. Dewey romped around that state like a Junior G-man, flashing generalities as glittering as a brand-new counterfeit coin. The varnished Mr. Vandenberg stayed in Washington but he is as familiar to Western voters as to Wall Street. Republican participants in the primaries hadn't much choice but it went to Mr. Dewey, who also took advantage of the anti-war sentiment by tightening up his isolationism. In the Democratic returns FDR got a three to one preference vote over Jack Garner, less than the President's supporters expected. Mr. Garner, with poker shrewdness, had submerged his personality into a symbol of protest against the third term. The Vice President won no convention delegates at all in New York and not even a respectable protest vote. If the primaries in Nebraska and Illinois, which take place as we go to press, reflect the Wisconsin and New York results, the "stop Dewey" and "stop Roosevelt" movements will have had a definite setback.

Last week also saw the defeat of Daniel W. Hoan, Socialist mayor of Milwaukee for twenty-four years, and the smash-up of the Pendergast machine in Kansas City, Mo. Mr. Hoan, whose socialism is strictly party-label, is famous for labor-splitting. He was defeated by a singing demagogue. With Boss Pendergast and his chief lieutenants in Leavenworth, the machine was a pushover for the "clean-up" forces.

Coughlin Is Responsible

In the trial of the seventeen Christian Front defendants we find one man missing—the "brains" of the "mob." We ask why the Rev. Charles E. Coughlin is not among those in the dock. Without him, the trial merely goes through the motions of defending the people's rights, and will possibly result in the conviction of a few young men who cached some rusty firearms for *der Tag* when they would provoke a "revolution."

That they were plotting more than mischief is already obvious. Testimony reveals that one of them, a certain Macklin Boetgger, urged that the *Daily Worker* be dynamited. He said, too, that if he could get a telescopic sight, he could shoot down the key man in the Communist Party. The names of Brig. Gen. Anderson and Lieut. Col. Meany, of the New York National Guard were cited, in the course of the trial, as members of the so-called Christian Front Action Committee.

Rabid anti-Semitism emerges from the testimony—anti-Semitism of the Father Coughlin variety. In fact, the "political line" of the defendants is clearly that outlined in *Social Justice* and the radio padre has—after a weak-kneed moment of repudiation when they were first arrested—come to the defense of these Fronters. Whatever the outcome of this remarkable trial, one thing is definite: the radio priest is responsible. So long as the authorities permit him to rant over the air and continue his dangerous work, new Christian Fronters, with dreams of dynamite and assassination, will be recruited.

LaGuardia Evades the Issue

Mayor LaGuardia has joined the reactionary attack on the appointment of Bertrand Russell to a lectureship at the City College of New York. No other interpretation can be placed on his decision to abolish the post by eliminating it from the budget. This subterfuge is a virtual endorsement of Justice McGeehan's arbitrary ruling in the case and reveals the grip the obscurantist forces have on City Hall. The "fighting" mayor does not even have the merit of candor.

LaGuardia's action, however, does not close the case. The public recognizes that the fight over the Russell appointment is only part of a larger campaign to narrow the democratic base of our educational system. Two recent legislative actions in New York State underscore that fact. The Rapp resolution calls for a legislative investigation of New York City's schools; at a time when funds for education have been curtailed on the grounds of "economy," this resolution appropriates $30,000 for an educational witch-hunt. The Coudert-McLaughlin bill authorizes religious instruction on public school time, a practice which would be completely contrary to the traditional American policy of separation of church and state. In protest against these ominous measures a citizens' rally sponsored by one hundred civic leaders will be held in Carnegie Hall on Saturday evening, April 13. Defense of a free and democratic system of education is a major issue of the day.

Georgie's Bonus

Everyone should know the happy news that George W. Hill, American Tobacco Co. president, won't have to get along on a mere salary of $117,000 a year. He will continue to get the bonus—it was $303,000 in 1939—of which a stockholder tried to deprive him. Georgie had pouted and said if they took away his "incentive compensation," he would resign. The stockholders met last week and decided they couldn't do this to a poor man.

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The State of the Nation

THIS DEPARTMENT, which NEW MASSES presents weekly, is the joint work of a group of correspondents who send us a letter each week telling about the state of their part of the nation. As more correspondents write in, our coverage will increase. We invite our readers to send their contributions of significant happenings, anecdotes, etc., to "The State of the Nation," NEW MASSES.

The Old Dies Tactic

PORTLAND, ORE.—Many of the people who attempted to deport Harry Bridges are trying the same tactics against Harold Pritchett, Canadian president of the International Woodworkers of America. Pritchett has brought a $150,000 libel suit against C. C. Crow and his *Pacific Lumber Digest,* megaphone of the Northwest lumber lords, for defaming his character. Working closely with the Portland Red Squad and other groups that used public funds to run down information on Bridges, Crow tried to turn the preliminary deposition of the suit into an Angel Island hearing. This fishing expedition netted scant evidence that Pritchett was a "Communist and Canadian radical." Even the high school civics class, which came for a lesson in "foreign isms," laughed out loud when attorneys tried to prove charges against Pritchett by pointing out that he had had a conference with CIO director John Brophy.

What, No Quints?

MIAMI, FLA.—The *Daily News* here recently startled its readers with a headline to the effect that Congress was to Ban Exploitation. Some people in Dade County thought that perhaps the tomato pickers south of Miami were to get a square deal. But it turned out that Congress was about to stop the Miami *Herald's* exploitation of the couple who were thought to be the future parents of quintuplets. The *Daily News* was losing in the exploitation contest. The *Herald* had everything set for a killing: it had signed up the parents under contract, moved the young mother to a local hospital over her protest, held up Miami merchants for "quint" advertising, planned on exhibiting the Quints at the World's Fair. But the *Daily News* had the last laugh after all, when an X-ray revealed that only one baby, instead of five, could be expected. One fact never emphasized in the hullabaloo was that the couple lived in virtually slum quarters.

Employers' College

OAKLAND, CALIF.—Paraffine (PABCO) Companies, Inc., has a huge plant on the Bay that turns out thousands of dollars of roofing and floor coverings every month. PABCO also turns out bright ideas on "labor union cooperation," but its latest enterprise hit a snag when it came up against Germain Bulcke, secretary of San Francisco Industrial Union Council, CIO. That enterprise was a "Labor Relations College," of which PABCO said: "The student body will be composed of union business agents, union shop representatives of the factory employees, and the factory supervisors' force. They will sit in the classroom, shoulder to shoulder, learning what makes unions and companies tick." Says Bulcke: "When I was invited to go down there . . . I thought it was some kind of open forum. . . . But when I saw the publicity! I noticed that instructors in this labor college were to be Hank Strobel, Associated Farmer, and Almon Roth, head of the Employers Council of SF. . . . I wrote the Paraffine Companies that it is my belief and the belief of the CIO that labor relations and unionism had better be taught through unions, not through 'labor colleges' run by employers. . . ."

Eight Thousand Miles Away

SEATTLE, WASH.—Because he refused to condemn the Soviet-Finnish peace, John Caughlan has been dismissed from his post as deputy prosecutor for Kings County here. So the same county office which refused to interfere in the affairs of a nearby county where a Finnish hall was wrecked, a Finnish woman (Laura Low) murdered, and open terror against Finns still goes on, now fires a deputy for refusing to mix in Finnish affairs eight thousand miles away. William Heikkila, executive secretary of the western district of the Finnish Workers Federation, pointed this fact out in a statement; he added that the federation strongly condemns the prosecutor and his office for their stand on a peace treaty "which stopped the needless sacrifice of Finnish youth and ended the attempt of Great Britain to broaden the war in Europe."

Ohio Roundup

TOLEDO, O.—John A. Abel of Marion, O., grand worthy president of the Fraternal Order of Eagles, stated in a speech here that "Under the Constitution each of us—rich or poor, young or old—has the right to the pursuit of happiness. Yet this right is now denied to millions of American workingmen." He described present conditions as a direct violation of human rights in that "men are denied the right to a suitable job with pay great enough to support themselves and their families in decency and comfort." . . . Mayor Cloyce H. Duttweiler of Findlay, O., issued orders to his police chief to arrest beggars and put them on a bread-and-water diet. He said beggars coming to town recently have become too bold in their operations. . . . Prof. Frank C. Hockema of Purdue University warned Kiwanis here that the birth rate among lower-income groups is so high that some day "this class may gain control." . . . Twelve one-room schools in Putnam County will be closed at the end of the term, or will be forced to operate without state aid, school district officials have been notified by E. N. Dietrich, state director of education. Small enrollment was given as the reason. . . . Ohio unions have been advised not to use the word "strike" in picket signs and banners or in any literature describing a labor dispute. Under Ohio law unemployed benefits cannot be paid to persons on strike although benefits can go to victims of a lockout. . . . Delegates to the Toledo Central Labor Union (AFL) are alarmed by the Industrial Mobilization Plan which is said to be ready for rushing through Congress the moment America becomes involved in war.

Birth Control Forbidden

HARTFORD, CONN.—Maternity health centers throughout Connecticut have been forced to close following a Supreme Court decision upholding the constitutionality of the state's anti-birth-control statute. This law makes birth control a criminal offense and prohibits physicians from prescribing contraceptives under any circumstances. The Connecticut Birth Control League has initiated a campaign to amend the law.

Ole Virginny

NEW MARKET, VA.—Virginia has 37 percent of total school population enrollment in high school (1935-36), and more than half of Virginia's counties, containing over 40 percent of the rural population, are without the benefit of whole-time health officers (1939). Twenty thousand rural youths a year reach maturity in Virginia without the prospect of a job or a vote. Many of them become strikebreakers in the industrial centers of other states; jails and welfare offices attempt to care for the remainder. Not more than one-fourth to one-third of the Virginia farm workers' families receive a sufficient income to maintain a decent standard of living, and nearly one-half of Virginia's farms are under fifty acres in size; in comparison, large tracts of land are owned by absentee landlords, or gentlemen farmers who spend their time getting divorced and chasing the gin bottle. Like the politicians, gentlemen farmers are not concerned about the education or economic condition of the people, and baronial estates usually rub elbows with a rural slum.

Less Relief, More Eligible

ALAMEDA COUNTY, CALIF.—Another step to turn relief (what's left of it) back to over fifty counties in California was seen recently as the Civil Service Commission of Alameda County announced "an examination to establish an eligible list for the position of junior social worker." This does not mean any jobs are open at the moment, but apparently Alameda County is not going to be caught short. The commission has waived the "county residence" clause for those who qualify, which means that anybody in California can take the test. Judging by the two thousand social workers being laid off by the state Relief Administration, it looks as though Alameda County will "establish an eligible list" to last them until socialism.

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Readers' Forum

Question for Alter Brody

TO NEW MASSES:—In his article, "The Myth of a Finnish Munich," in a recent number of NEW MASSES, Mr. Alter Brody says: "The railroad that is to be built through central Finland gives the Soviet Union no military right of way but is expressly restricted to commercial uses." There was no such restriction in the text of Article 7 of the treaty as broadcast from Moscow on March 13, which ran as follows: "Finland agrees to grant access across the territory between Russia and Sweden, via the shortest route, for a new railway to be built jointly by both countries, possibly in 1940, between Kandalaksha and Kemijaervi." It is, however, possible that the broadcast text was merely a summary which did not give the exact terms of the treaty.

As Mr. Brody is so positive on this point, presumably he has the complete text of the treaty in his possession. If he would publish the verbatim text of Article 7, he would render a great service to those who, like myself, wish to be fully informed about the matter.

ROBERT DELL.

New York City.

[MR. BRODY REPLIES]

I do have a private copy of the Soviet-Finnish peace treaty from which I derived my information. It is my private copy of the New York *Times* of March 13, giving the complete text of the treaty. According to that text, Article 7 reads: "The government of Finland shall grant the Soviet Union the right of *transit of goods* between the USSR and Sweden and with the aim of developing this transit along the shortest railroad route the USSR and Finland find it necessary to build, if possible in the year 1940, a railway line connecting the town of Kandalaksha with the town of Kemijaervi." (The italics are mine.)

If Mr. Dell has any further doubt on the subject I can refer him to Paasikivi's statement, New York *Times,* March 17: "The provisions relating to the construction of a railroad from the Russian border to Kemijaervi were provisions added to the original ones. . . . The Finnish delegation did not wish to attach too much importance to this supplementary provision, as the Kemijaervi railroad was intended for freight only."

ALTER BRODY.

Spanish Refugees

TO NEW MASSES: Your excellent editorial on the Spanish refugee situation, in the April 2 issue, will, I hope, do much toward clarifying the issues which have recently split the Spanish Refugee Relief Campaign in this country. A few additional facts may be helpful.

The First Continental Conference for Aid to Spanish Refugees, which was held in Mexico City, February 15-18, was called at the initiative of the Spanish Refugee Relief Campaign. The proposed agenda for that conference was based on the program of the Campaign (a program accepted by the executive board and chapters in September and October 1939) and sent to all groups invited to the conference. Mr. Reissig himself signed the proposed agenda and the accompanying letter. In objecting to the decisions of the conference and refusing to approve them, Mr. Reissig, Dr. Inman, and the slim majority of the executive board were repudiating their own position.

The authenticity of the Menard order has been further established since your editorial appeared by the French government's admission that the refugee camps and centers were closed as of March 31. At the same time the French government has publicly stated, according to the New York *Times* of March 30, that those refugees incorporated into agriculture, industry, labor battalions, or the army will not be allowed to emigrate. Previously the government had said that all refugees who wished to do so could leave the country.

The statement of Alvarez del Vayo to the effect that France was treating the refugees "in the old and honorable French tradition of hospitality to the political exile" is particularly hard to reconcile with the fact that M. Del Vayo's own sister was recently ordered by the French authorities from the private home of a French Catholic family, with whom she was staying, to a concentration camp. This lady, advanced in years and of infirm health, was only saved through the intervention of high French officials.

Many of those who opposed the protests in this country against the Menard order, and who refused to accept the decisions of the conference in Mexico City, have during the past history of the Spanish Refugee Relief Campaign and the old North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy played the part of a minority "opposition" within the committees. On the executive boards of the organizations they found a spokesman and leader in the person of Mr. Roger Baldwin who, in turn, had the support of Socialist Party members both within and without the committees. Today those forces have obtained the support of several persons on the board who in the past put defense of the Spanish refugees before everything.

Fortunately for the refugees, their defense and assistance no longer depend upon the efforts of the Spanish Refugee Relief Campaign. The chapters, contributing organizations, and supporters of the Campaign who have repudiated the present stand of the board have called a national conference to be held in New York City on April 14. It is certain that the program and actions developed as the result of that conference will be much more effective in helping the refugees than any that are restricted by fear of the "Red scare" or desires to defend the French government.

DOUGLAS JACOBS.

New York City.

Idea for a Pamphlet

TO NEW MASSES:—Morris Kamman's fine article in your March 19 issue is the best condensed picture I've seen anywhere of the financial and diplomatic wire-pulling that got us into the last war.

The clean documentary proof that doesn't get smeared with emotionalism is the kind of thing, it seems to me, that can have a strong appeal with that section of the middle class that hasn't yet been corrupted by the profit motives, that still honestly wants to maintain peace. This article ought to have a mass circulation and be turned into a pamphlet. Here's my vote for it!

A pamphlet showing the relation of this war to the last one is crucially needed right now—and you're the people to do it!

LILLIAN BARNARD GILKES.

New York City.

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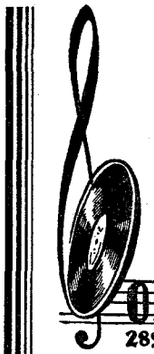

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H. G. Wells' Old Beginnings

His latest essay, "The New Social Order," is a primer of confusion. How to see through Mr. Britling.

THE NEW WORLD ORDER, *by H. G. Wells. Alfred A. Knopf. $1.50.*

H. G. WELLS has written another book. It is a very sad one, with a distinctly valedictory tone, written as it is "for those people who must go on with this business of making a world peace." This may not be Mr. Wells' last word. But it is the most we can expect from an entire group of men and women whom he represents: people of culture and intelligence, who know that the old world is coming to a close, and wish it good riddance, but are nevertheless baffled by every possible misunderstanding of the new world that is emerging. This brief essay of 145 pages contains the best statement of their dilemma. In it will be found every extreme of elation and despair, of hope and foreboding. It is a primer of the middle class mind, alarmed, undecided, baffled by the painful alternatives of our time.

The nineteenth century, Mr. Wells begins, has been dead for more than thirty years. We must either find a new way of living, or be condemned to a "degringolade" of violence and death. What is to be done? First of all, he insists, we must be able to discuss our problems freely. And here he delivers a most brilliant, slashing attack in defense of our right to speak freely in "the great debate." In a really superb passage Wells castigates "the appearance of a swarm of individuals, too clever by half, in positions of authority, excited, conceited, prepared to lie, distract, and generally humbug the people into a state of acquiescence, resistance, vindictiveness, doubt, and mental confusion . . ." In Wells' opinion, Britain is just as bad as Germany in this respect. It is ridiculous, says he, to present the democracies "as realms of light at issue with darkness."

Why has the nineteenth century come to a close? The reasons are not too clear, but they may serve: Distances have been abolished, technical advances have unified the world. It is not the placid, timid shopkeeper's capitalism which has conquered the earth, but something more horrible "in its monstrous destructiveness." The sovereignties of nations must go, says Wells. They have been outlived; but we must not have political federation "without concurrent economic collectivization."

So far, excellent. But how will this be achieved? On this crucial question Wells fails the reader, not once but several times. Incisive, indignant, penetrating in his statement of the problem, he is musing, wayward, flabby in the elaboration of his solution. No sooner does Wells begin to tell us what he would have the world do than he comes up against Marxism. And when he gets to Marxism all his quaint, befuddled, dogmatic objections come to the surface. For example, shall we look to the proletariat to help us? "There is no reason to suppose that it has, on the whole, any available reserves of directive and administrative capacity and disinterested devotion superior to the successful classes." The class struggle? That is simply a tremendous delusion. Karl Marx, it seems, had a B in his bonnet: the hated Bourgeoisie. There is in fact no capitalist system at all, says Wells, "our trouble lies in the absence of system." The Russian Revolution is rejected, not on the grounds of alleged excesses and exaggerations. No, Wells is much more daring than Lenin. "We must go much further," he insists. His revolution "must be more thorough and better conceived, and its achievement demands a more heroic and steadfast thrust."

Again the author poses his question, how to achieve "the new and unprecedented possibilities of world collectivization," and again he cannot face that question. And again he resorts to diversions. The British crowd is sullen, he says: "It has not been in such a temper for a century and a half, far less in a temper with the German than with their own rulers." And sooner than we realize the author has again come face to face with the Soviets. The ultra-radical complements the Fabian: "We do not deplore the Russian Revolution," says Wells in high exaltation. "We complain that it is not a good revolution, and want a better one."

And here we are back where we started. Half way through an essay on a "new world order," we know only that the author wants it badly, rejects all other proposals as less than satisfactory, but has not told us just how his order shall be achieved. A sufficient number of "minds throughout the world must be brought to a candid recognition of the essentials of the human problem, and then their effective collaboration in a conscious, explicit, and open effort to reconstruct human society will ensue." Simple as all that.

What the world really needs, our author muses, is "competent men." He is very critical of wartime England earlier in his essay. He is scathing in his denunciation of fascism. His socialism must be greater and more heroic and steadfast than Stalin's. Yet here he is speculating that perhaps the evacuation of children from the cities, the censorship, the Keynes plan, gas masks, and so on, may be the *form* of socialism after all! If only the right men were running the show, even fascization might be the beginning of the new social order!

The last chapters have been heard from before. Assuming that the knotty problem of transition to world socialism has been solved merely by stating the desire to solve it, Wells delineates the essentials of the order already achieved. He supplies a Declaration of the Rights of Man, sonorous and properly punctuated. The foreign politics of this order will be rational. Germany must not be broken up, the USSR must not be alienated, and by all means, be good to India. The international postal system seems to be the embryo of world socialism. Mr. Streit's Federal Union will serve at least to provoke people's minds. The last passages are of the "time machine" variety: a wonderful vision, described with eloquence, but without a trace of suspicion that while the Utopia is thrilling, how to *get there* was the purpose of the essay.

I have described Mr. Wells' dilemma because I believe that millions of honorable men and women share it. Millions of men and women are thinking about the new world order that must come, and is coming. But they are hemmed in by frustrations; they have practically no knowledge of Marxism, which ignorance H. G. Wells, who ought to know better, helps perpetuate. Take the class struggle which Mr. Wells calls a delusion. How long will it take honest people to realize that nobody *wants, desires,* or *invents* the class struggle? It is an objective, impersonal fact of modern society, as of all societies since primitive communism. Marx discovered it as a law of capitalism. It takes place independently of our wills.

Marx found after rigorous examination, permitting no B in his bonnet to interfere with his scientific objectivity, that the antagonism between the modern wageworker and the modern employer is the culmination of a long series of such antagonisms. And because technical science and collectivized labor under capitalism have developed phenomenally in the modern era, there is within this struggle of the proletariat the opportunity of liberating all classes within capitalist society, abolishing its evils, establishing world economic planning, and securing humanity against devastating warfare.

How long can otherwise intelligent people satisfy themselves with Sunday supplement dissertations on the absence of freedom in the USSR? Have they thought through the meaning of freedom? Have they examined its *actual, living, concrete* reality in the USSR, as did the Dean of Canterbury, the Webbs, and other observers? Have they considered

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what constitutes the essence of freedom? The liberation of men from the restraint of economic inequality, from economic decline and insecurity has achieved for the Soviet peoples real freedom by contrast with which the superficial freedom of the bourgeois democracies lags a full historical span to the rear.

The problems of our transition to a new world order are difficult. They require thought. They require a painstaking examination of history, of the motive forces within history. They require humility in the face of the experience of other peoples. They require the rigorous scientific spirit: investigating, weighing, acknowledging facts. Mr. Wells' booklet is a sad one, because for all his fine intentions and his high prose, his advice is hopelessly, obviously inadequate. For he has not examined the facts of capitalism; he doesn't understand its motive forces.

The road H. G. Wells would have us travel leads only to a familiar dead end.

JOSEPH STAROBIN.

The Snopeses Move Up

THE HAMLET, *by William Faulkner. Random House. $2.50.*

Two criticisms have been brought against William Faulkner as a novelist. He has been said to have not so much a style of his own as a great facility in adapting styles to his purposes. Gradually, however, it has become apparent that Faulkner uses various narrative methods as a poet would use different poetic forms for different moods, and usually successfully. His frequent use of the stream of consciousness method, moreover, is admirably suited to his purpose of portraying almost completely inarticulate and shrewdly instinctive mentalities.

Second, Faulkner has been said to rely too much on the perverse or abnormal in human action for horror and suspense. His last several books, however, have proved that his distortion can function when used to portray a distorted or disintegrating social scene. The distortion and violence of some of Faulkner's scenes are as functional, indeed, as was distortion, for example, in Picasso's *Guernica.* His oblique approach to his story clarifies the fact that it is not the crimes or perversions that produce horror. The horror lies rather in the casual submission of his characters to any violence. Faulkner's characters itch for anything that breaks the monotony of their impoverished lives.

Primarily, of course, Faulkner's studies of the South are studies of a decaying culture. And this new novel is no exception. It is concerned with the Snopeses—hill people who have become "soured" by mistreatment at the hands of the decadent aristocrats. These aristocrats were succeeded first by the traders; then, as the traders grow lazy and indifferent, the struggle begins all over again. It is the same struggle for power and for money. And *The Hamlet* is a study of the methods (totally amoral and petty and vicious) by which the shrewder of the once tenant or small farmers of the hills turned the tables against the older traders. What the Snopeses knew, they had learned by being cheated. Now they begin to prove that small dog can eat larger dog—if nothing, not even kinship (the greatest loyalty among earlier landowners), is sacred.

The various members of the Snopes family have appeared in Faulkner's earlier books. In short stories we have heard of barn-burnings and of a murder in which the murderer is tortured into acknowledging his crime by the hound of the man killed. Both these tales are incorporated in *The Hamlet.* In *Absalom, Absalom* Faulkner published a map of Frenchman's Bend, the scene of this story, and this map indicated that the Snopeses would rise to a financial leadership even greater than they attain in this new novel. *The Hamlet* is a tale of only their first victories, which are all small but significant. The Snopes family gradually get into their own hands farms and farmers, and finally they outwit the interpreter of the story, Ratliff, a sewing machine agent who "gets around."

Certain chapters in this book are unforgettable. Faulkner's study of an idiot's (the weakest Snopes') passion for a cow is sheer primitive myth—apocalyptic poetry, too. And always Faulkner has handled, better than any modern writer, scenes of flight and frenzied escape. In *The Hamlet* the chapters describing the horse-trading for wild Texan mustangs and the mad race of these frenzied animals through barns, bridges, even houses, are intensely exciting and, I think, symbolic. Only wild animals or maddened people, in Faulkner's books, seek freedom. Most men are caught, caught in part by their own stupidity, in part by poverty. (Faulkner does not deal with the industrialized South or with organized labor.) The book closes with an appalling scene in which a man, driven mad by being cheated and by wanting to cheat back, hollows out his own grave, digging for money not there.

Led to believe in the existence of a treasure by deliberately planted bait, this man and Ratliff (the shrewdest character in the book) complete the Snopeses' victory by buying the old Frenchman's place itself, a worthless ruin. The Snopes family move on, then, to Jefferson to become bigger businessmen. One of them takes with him as his wife Eula, symbol of female fertility, damned now to give birth to a money-mad race.

Although Faulkner's sympathies cannot be said to be clearly with "the people," he has a (possibly aristocratic) horror of the middle class passion for money. But he has also a deep sense of identification with and understanding of frustration and can interpret inarticulate, angry little minds by seemingly swimming through their very inchoate images and by ironically and yet sympathetically recording their few words. The phase of the South with which he is obsessed rots, and he knows it. He recreates the very stink of Frenchman's Bend as it slowly decays, while group succeeds group of money-mad men.

EDA LOU WALTON.

Dr. Sachar's Jewish Problem

SUFFERANCE IS THE BADGE, *by Abram Leon Sachar. Alfred A. Knopf. $3.50.*

Suppose you were at a session of the Anti-Vivisection Society, where a brilliant scientist described lengthily and eloquently the horrors of smallpox before vaccination and then concluded with the deprecation, "Let us *not* use vaccination!" You might feel with Groucho Marx, "Either this man is dead or my watch has stopped." You would most certainly feel startled, puzzled, nonplussed. That's how I feel after reading Dr. Abram Leon Sachar's six hundred page study of the Jew in the contemporary world.

Over and again Dr. Sachar points out that Jews and other minority peoples are restricted and persecuted for the economic purposes of the dominant group. He believes this, he knows this, he cites apt and entertaining quips, statements, and cartoons in eloquent elucidation, viz: the observation on anti-Semitism made by an official Japanese in Berlin, "It's magnificent! I wish we could have something like it, but we haven't any Jews"; the famous cartoon of two German workers commenting on a new set of anti-Jewish laws, "This means another wage cut for us tomorrow."

So far, so good. But Dr. Sachar does not like the economy within which Jews are neither restricted nor persecuted. He abundantly shows that in the Soviet Union Jews are encouraged and assisted to participate in every field of work, that they cannot be used as economic scapegoats, that anti-Semitism is a severely punishable crime, but he doesn't like the Soviet Union. He even quotes the late Felix Warburg's remark that "No government has gone so far beyond its contract to aid the Jews as the Soviet Union," but the title he gives this chapter is: "Russia: Paradise Lost."

Why does Dr. Sachar dislike the Soviet Union? Because over and above all Dr. Sachar likes capitalism. He admires the cooperatives of Palestine and overemphasizes the strength of labor there. But before he can be accused of dangerous thoughts he hastens to add, "Private enterprise, of course, is neither opposed nor discouraged." Private capital and British concessions own and operate various colonies and enterprises, but "the unusual strength of labor" guarantees that "the evils of predatory capitalism will not be permitted to take root." Certainly a pious wish; but the stubborn fact remains that a profit-motivated economy invariably breeds the evils which Dr. Sachar deplores. If it is desirable that labor should curb these evils, would it not be better for labor to *eradicate* the evils by owning the economy?

Dr. Sachar is a Zionist and whoever disapproves of Zionism is, he feels, no real friend of the Jewish people. He finds cause for regret that in the Soviet Union, "Russia is a substitute for Palestine in the hearts of the young people." His faith in Zionism, by his own presentation of the Palestinian situation, is a remarkable example of wishful thinking. He

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HE FIRST EXPOSED COUGHLIN

A. B. Magil, New Masses editor, was the first to expose the fascist, anti-Semitic activities of Father Coughlin. He did the job in a pamphlet, *The Truth About Father Coughlin*, published in 1935, which sold more than 200,000 copies. In the spring of last year he published another pamphlet, *The Real Father Coughlin*, which also proved a best-seller. Mr. Magil is also co-author with Henry Stevens of the book, *The Peril of Fascism: The Crisis of American Democracy*, published in 1938. He has been active in the labor and progressive movement as editor, writer, teacher for a dozen years. He is available for lecture dates on national and international questions.

Also available are other speakers, including the following New Masses contributors: Joseph North, Joseph Starobin, Carl A. Bristel, H. C. Adamson.

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makes amply clear how impossible is Palestine's prosperity as a segregated and independent microcosm within the macrocosm of imperialistic and monopolistic capitalism. He is well aware of England's duplicity and perfidy: how England has maintained high taxes and denied reciprocal tariffs; how England has violated the Balfour Declaration from the very start and scuttled it completely with the White Paper of 1939. Nevertheless, he is still counting on England's sense of "fair play" and approves the Zionist Congress' pledge to Chamberlain last fall of fullest Jewish cooperation in the present war.

Like that other Zionist apologist, Mr. Louis Golding, Dr. Sachar approaches a dangerous theory of racism. Pursuing his method, Dr. Sachar selects evidence to undermine his position before presenting it. He shows that Jews have lived in many countries centuries earlier than the dominant nations and that intermarriage between Jew and non-Jew has been strong wherever legislation prohibiting it has been weak or non-existent. He points out that contributions to civilization made by Jews were not Jewish contributions, nor even German or English or French, but rather scientific, artistic, industrial contributions. All of which leads the reader to expect that Dr. Sachar believes that Jews like other people have no unique cultural and racial claims.

However, when Dr. Sachar finds Jews living in free association in the Soviet Union and actively contributing to every phase of culture, he finds this "gratifying" but nevertheless regrettable, because these contributions are "totally unrelated to the historical traditions of Jewish life." Actually, of course, the flourishing of Jewish culture in the Soviet Union—the splendid achievements of the Yiddish theater and literature, for example—has grown out of the best of the traditional forms. Moreover, Dr. Sachar's argument is often uncomfortably reminiscent of the false racism which contends that culture is incommunicable, that every people creates a culture of its own which can be neither understood by nor diffused to another people. But the history of civilization and Dr. Sachar, too, show what nonsense this is, and Nazis go right on using "Chinese" spectacles and "Jewish" salvarsan and Zionists plant "American Indian" maize and play "Egyptian" chess.

This is an interesting and dangerous book, for Dr. Sachar writes vividly and compellingly. Tears must come when he tells the horror tale of Jewish persecutions from the bloody pogroms of Kishinev and Homel to the cold and more terrible pogroms of today. But tears and backward looking are not needed and Dr. Sachar would give Jews too much of these. While his concluding credo counsels Jews to ally themselves with democracy, his real emphasis is on a kind of quietism in which Jews are to build "spiritual defenses" by taking pride in their long past and achievements. Dr. Sachar gives the defeatist injunction of a sixteenth century moneylender, "Sufferance is the badge of all our tribe."

CORA MACALBERT.

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SIGHTS AND SOUNDS

Both Angular and Flat

Maurice Evans recites Richard II at the St. James . . . Vincent Sheean's first attempt . . . Herbert Kline's war film—passed by the censor.

THE limited engagement of Maurice Evans' production of William Shakespeare's *King Richard II* affords as good an opportunity as any to record my almost unlimited aversion to the star, and my determination to explain it in terms that, I assure you, are not personal. The daily reviewers inevitably turn handsprings whenever Mr. Evans appears upon the boards, and only Brooks Atkinson of the *Times* was courageous enough to cast the slightest aspersion upon the actor-manager. He said that his voice was rather thin.

Not only is Mr. Evans' voice thin, but it is also stale, flat, and unprofitable. It runs a consistent and limited scale that could probably be better described in terms of an octave on the musical staff, and it is stylized to the point of your utter boredom. In order to make the most of it, Mr. Evans resorts to a singsong monotone, and the necessity for emotion is conveyed by a sudden leap into the upper register. When the "emotion" is gone, the voice drops, sometimes to a whisper.

A DEMANDING ROLE

Now this *Richard II* is one of the greatest of Shakespeare's plays; and while it is better suited to the temperament and equipment of the star than is *Hamlet* (since it makes less demand upon the actor), it is still true that the poet has conceived a character that runs the gamut of human emotion, and speaks some of his most majestic poetry. This Richard was a man, a king, a tortured soul such as Shakespeare—out of his own spiritual torment—loved to handle and set in motion on a stage. Damned by his own weakness, extravagance, and ineptitude, he loses his crown to the forthright and vigorous duke of Hereford, Bolingbroke, later to be King Henry IV. As a man aware of his own shortcomings, and torn between alternate decisions of strength and self-torture, the role demands an *actor,* and it is my considered opinion that Maurice Evans is no kind of actor, but the purest brand of Yorkshire ham.

His reading of the lines is intelligent, but no more so than your own. His exposition in physical terms is no better and no worse than might be offered by any performer who has been trained for years to walk upon a lighted platform, before an audience, without tripping on his costume. Mr. Evans stands upon the stage in a sort of rapt mood, closes his eyes and listens to the mighty lines as they pour in an unending and meticulously articulated stream from his lips. He manages his transitions of mood and emotion with the grace of a Mack truck turning a sharp city corner. He postures and attitudinizes endlessly in a manner that has no organic relation to the role, that is frequently effeminate, and generally stirs you to nothing more than bottomless indifference.

Now it may be true that any performance of a Shakespeare play is better than no performance at all, but the point could be argued. I personally feel (and actors of all sorts will shake their gory locks) that any intelligent reader in the comfort of his living room could pick up his Shakespeare and read himself a better production than we usually see. This current *Richard II* is a run-of-the-mine achievement. Miss Margaret Webster's direction is only adequate; Mr. Ffolkes' scenery and costumes merely decorative, and there is the inevitable population of wooden young ladies with good shoulders and bosoms, and ambiguous young men who look pretty in doublet and hose. One or two minor roles are *performed* in a generally routine fashion: John Barclay's John of Gaunt, Donald Randolph's Bolingbroke, and most notably, Sydney Smith's Mowbray, which has characterization and virility far more convincing to the spectator than anything Mr. Evans has to offer.

For this spectator, at least, came away with the conviction that there is not a drop of emotion in Mr. Evans, that every tone of voice, every shade of meaning, every gesture and physical expression was *studied* and applied as a veneer. None of it was felt.

Here is only one man's opinion. You are not only privileged, but obliged, to disagree. This is—still—a relatively free country.

VINCENT SHEEAN'S FIRST PLAY

Vincent Sheean is a jack-of-all-opinions, and he has tried his hand at fiction, autobiography, poetry, the essay, literary criticism, translation, and political economy. It is only natural that he should have finally got around to drama. *An International Incident* brings Ethel Barrymore to the theater named for her, in a drawing room conversation piece about a lady lecturer of American birth and British habitation who returns to tell us about "My Life in England."

Now this Mr. Sheean is a versatile and clever fellow, when he is not entirely dishonest. (And sometimes when he is.) So it is not surprising that his first play should occasionally be amusing. That it is not a play at all seems, for the moment, less important than it should, for you will want to know what the boy is up to, and his play will hold your interest.

It holds your interest because you discover that he has several caustic things to say about British lecturers and British ruling class policy; about stupid American committeewomen bent on cultural and political uplift (not pectoral); about the world situation in general. The actual drama, which involves the "education" of Mrs. Rochester, visiting lecturer, and her mild flirtation with her younger American cousin, Hank Rogers, will not move you at all, because it is entirely unmotivated.

LIFE IN THE RAW

Hank felt his cousin really didn't know anything about the world in which she lived; he was mildly afraid that her personal charm would influence American audiences to believe in Britain's great moral crusade to save democracy. He took her to a Detroit picket-line to see how the other half lives. Here she was "busted on the snoot" by a policeman, and she says she will never be the same again. In other words, she has come to see that there *are* other people in the world besides the British ruling caste she so much admires.

Now what is the boy doing? If the play has any "message" at all—which could be argued—it is that Americans want no part of England's war and are justifiably suspicious of British lecturers these days. Which is so much to the good. But I doubt if it will last long enough to promulgate this creditable opinion.

For so curious a personality is this Vincent Sheean that he can, and has, espoused at least three different political positions in the course of a single year, and this fundamental lack of conviction has been carried over into his play, which utterly fails to involve the emotions of its audience. The whole thing is piffling to the nth degree, and not only because Sheean does not know how to write a play.

Ethel Barrymore as Mrs. Rochester reveals her great personal charm, despite a very old-fashioned and stylized acting technique. Kent Smith as the American cousin and Cecil Humphreys as a British Cabinet minister turn in creditable performances in roles that are entirely unmotivated and amazingly unwritten.

AN OLD, OLD STORY

Miss Gladys George is a bouncing and energetic (and quite capable) performer of the slightly older school. She has immense personal charm of a rather special order and can entertain the customers no end. Therefore it is rather unfortunate that she hasn't anything better to work on than the dramatized version of Margery Sharp's *The Nutmeg Tree,* retitled *Lady in Waiting,* and currently at the Martin Beck.

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This is a fantastically fragile bubble about a "vulgar" dame whose daughter has been brought up to be a "lady." All the old changes on this ancient stage situation are rung again, and they ring sadly out of tune. The audience is reassured that the diamond-in-the-rough is really human after all, and the "genteel" may be a pain in the neck; which we have known for quite a time.

Mr. Alan Napier of London is making his American stage debut in this play; he is to be pitied.

ALVAH BESSIE.

Murder, Ltd.

Herbert Kline's war film and a remake from Hollywood.

HERBERT KLINE and Alexander Hackenschmied, authors of the film requiem for Czechoslovakia, *Crisis,* present a new documentary of subsequent events in Europe in *Lights Out in Europe.* Made under the most difficult conditions in Poland during the Nazi invasion, and in England during the censorship invasion, the film is a dangerously muddled piece of work.

Unable to secure material in Germany and France, and blandly deprived by the British censorship of important anti-war scenes from England, the producers have attempted to redeem the project as best they can. The results are negative. It is no longer news that war is hell, but *Lights Out in Europe* leaves the audience with not much more than this elementary fact.

The total effect of the picture is somewhere between isolationism and sympathy for one side in the big murder of the masses. In Poland we are shown the sickening effects of Nazi planes strafing a refugee train, and the consequences of incendiary bombs on wooden villages that would warm the heart of Vittorio Mussolini. There are also scenes of the tragic mass meetings where the great Marshal Smigly-Rydz promises great deeds to the peasantry, secure in the gilt-edged promises of Britain. The strong peasants line up exactly like men before a firing squad, and they leave for the front on horse as though they were leaving for one of the comical little pageant wars of the seventeenth century. The murderer of these people was Hitler and the finger man was a great British statesman, now leading the forces of civilization in another crusade for "democracy." Plato please note.

BRITISH SCENE

After the Polish scenes the camera logically goes to England where preparations for war are well under way. Here we get a shot of the Black Watch, newly arrived from India, drilling in the courtyard of a picture-postcard castle. Resolution is written on their stern faces. They will stop that bugger. Didn't they stop the Indian people? The picture does not say this, merely gives the audience a pleasing little pageant of John Bull with his back up. There are some fine scenes in various recruiting stations and in a home for totally disabled

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CLARENCE HATHAWAY, editor of Daily Worker speaks at a series of three lectures dealing with Imperialist Background of the Present War. First lecture to be held on SATURDAY APRIL 13, 2:30 P.M. Subject: "WHAT ARE THE DRIVING FORCES BEHIND HITLER AND CHAMBERLAIN?" Workers School, 35 East 12 St., 2nd floor. Admission 25c.

SENDER GARLIN speaks on "TRUTH BEHIND THE NEWS"—Midtown Forum, Hotel Monterey, 94th Street and Broadway—SUNDAY, APRIL 14, 8:30 P.M. Adm. 25c.

ALFRED GOLDSTEIN, popular political analyst, reviews THE NEWS OF THE WEEK every SUNDAY EVENING, at Workers School, 2nd floor, 35 East 12 Street. Admission 25c.

veterans of the last war to make the world safe for etcetera. The British censors are not as stupid as they advertise themselves to be. They have quite rightly confiscated Hackenschmied's pictures of the London slums and various anti-war demonstrations, but allowed the scenes of crippled and blind veterans to go through.

The commentary of the film was written by James Hilton. Pacifist in its intention, the commentary is apolitical in effect. The strongest statement it can make against imperialist war is that the statesmen of Europe have failed in their trust. Quite the contrary. The statesmen of capitalist Europe have eminently succeeded in their "trust." It is part of their business to kill off the people every twenty-five years. Learned professors have found a scientific justification for it in theories of overpopulation.

Everybody had better stay away from this picture. When your cutting room is the British censor office, you have difficulty making a picture useful to the real anti-war forces of America.

REMAKE

Dalton Trumbo is my favorite screen playwright. His employers, RKO, have been unkind enough to assign him the task of making something of *A Bill of Divorcement,* a bad problem play of the twenties. Hereditary insanity has been good for a shudder since ancient times and the movies are so fond of this particular story that it has been made three times. Movie generations being almost as transient as a college generation, the thing has sneaked out again. Adolphe Menjou is so badly miscast as the insane Enoch Arden as to suggest he was a stray visitor on the set. The tearful ingenue part is capably poured by Maureen O'Hara, and several others such as Herbert Marshall and Fay Bainter do their stage crosses well. The grand finale of the picture, composed around a fearful piano duet, is quite the shoddiest evasion of the plot problem I have seen in several weeks.

JAMES DUGAN.

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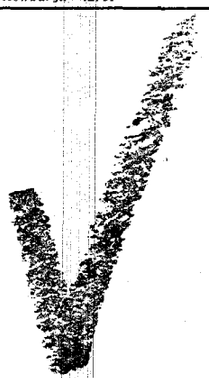

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Maybe you missed this item

Bache Says Isolationists Seek Votes of Parents

Declares if Allies Fail to Win, U.S. Will Fight for Them

TORONTO, April 2 (UP).—Jules S. Bache, New York financier and president of Dome Mines, Ltd., one of Canada's biggest gold producers, said here today that "professional isolationists" in the United States were "simply after the votes of parents who do not want their sons to go to war."

Addressing the annual meeting of the mining company, Mr. Bache said the United States should be behind the Allies against Germany "if for no other reason than that of good business."

He said neither he nor other members of the company had "a single hair of neutrality" on their heads.

"Probably the Allies can do the job of defeating Germany themselves," Mr. Bache declared, "but if they fail, the United States will have to get in on their side."

NOTHING BASHFUL about Mr. Bache, is there? He is barefaced and baldheaded—"not a hair of neutrality on his head." His reply to American parents "who don't want their sons to go to war" is direct. The war is good business. Backing the Allies is good business. And when business falls off, Mr. Bache is in favor of your son and your brother and your boy friend going to war for Mr. Bache.

And who do you think this gentleman is? He is a director of the Ann Arbor Railroad Company, of the American Indemnity Company, of the Cuba Distilling Company, of the Empire Trust Company, of the New Amsterdam Casualty Company, of US Industrial Alcohol, of the Tennessee Corporation, of the Kelvinator Corporation, of Julius Kayser & Company, of the Tennessee Chemical and Copper Company. Mr. Bache belongs to fashionable clubs: Lotus, Bankers, Century Country, Pilgrims, Hudson River County, Oakland Golf, Sands Point (L. I.) Bath and Tennis, Seminole Golf, at Palm Beach. His offices are at 36 Wall St., and the Chrysler Building. His summer retreat at Camp Wenonah, upper Saranac Lake, N. Y. His garages at 163 East 70th St. and his home at 814 Fifth Ave. And that's where his art collection is, too. The art collection of Jules S. Bache: pillar of society, patron of the Muses, leading citizen, paragon of culture, defender of the faith, warmonger, bugleblower, jingo-artist, patrioteer.

New Masses says that Mr. Bache is a menace to the people of the United States. *New Masses* says that Mr. Bache, and everybody like him, are conspiring against the peace and happiness of the American people. *New Masses* is convinced that this country and its Constitution can live without Mr. Bache. We are against him, and we will fight him. And because this is your fight as well as ours, you and everybody like you that doesn't agree with Mr. Bache ought to be reading *New Masses*. Sign that coupon today. Help us keep America *free* from such men as Jules Bache.

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